

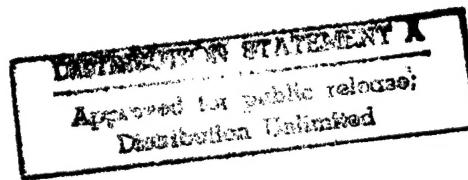
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# *JPRS Report*



# Soviet Union

## *Political Affairs*

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPBS-UPA-88-007

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**Demichev Speaks on Anniversary of Delhi Declaration**

18000129 Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
28 Nov 87 pp 1-2

[Excerpts from speech by P. N. Demichev, Politburo candidate member, first deputy chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet, at an international conference, "For a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World," in Tashkent]

[Text] Dear friends!

The Delhi Declaration is a document of tremendous international significance the impact of which on the life of mankind will doubtlessly increase.

It is significant that the document was proposed by the leaders of two friendly nations belonging to different socio-political systems. Regardless of the nature of their social systems, the peoples of the Soviet Union and India share a common view of the contemporary world.

The Delhi Declaration calls for a world without wars, without weapons of mass destruction.

The world's first socialist state born in the Great October Revolution formulated a fundamentally new policy, the cornerstone of which is peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the strengthening of friendship and cooperation of peoples. The major peace initiatives launched by the Soviet Union in our time are a continuation and expansion of that policy.

Having achieved independence, India, too, took to the road of active struggle for peace and detente, for the elimination of hotbeds of military tension. Its active participation in international conferences and the non-aligned movement and its positive initiatives have gained it high international prestige. The Delhi Declaration was a legitimate outcome of the struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India for common goals in keeping with the fundamental interests of all mankind.

We have gathered here in the hospitable city of Tashkent, which is world renowned as a venue of international friendly get-togethers and important peace initiatives, in order to more profoundly comprehend the historical significance of the Delhi Declaration, more extensively bring our understanding of its principles and conclusions to the world public, and discuss ways of more actively implementing them in relations among nations.

The Delhi Declaration asserts the truth that today the peoples of the world can no longer live as before or be guided by old thinking and old approaches, especially in questions of war and peace.

Today we can say with full justification that the new thinking is more than a breakthrough in theory and in views of the modern world. It is already operating and yielding its first fruit.

The Delhi Declaration is both a philosophical and political manifesto. It is a philosophical one because it imbues the age-old experience of mankind's world spiritual culture and defines the basic meaning of human activity and existence in the world. It is a political manifesto because it clearly defines the direction of specific practical actions aimed at a future of lasting peace and universal progress.

The Delhi declaration is addressed to all peoples, to all humankind. But it is at the same time more than just an appeal pervaded with humanitarian spirit; it is an expression of a ripe historical necessity, of a qualitatively new situation that has formed in the world. The internationalization of world economic ties, the universal nature of the scientific and technical revolution, the emergence of the ecological threat, the acute nature of social problems, the real possibility of a universal catastrophe in the event of the use of nuclear weapons: all this has confronted the peoples of the world with the need to develop fundamentally new approaches to the resolution of the universal tasks facing all humanity, the tasks of preserving our civilization.

The Delhi Declaration is a thread of Ariadne capable of leading humanity out of the labyrinth of today's complex contradictions. It is an integral document embodying both a new vision of the world and a clear, long-term program for restructuring relations among nations. The practical element of this task is, of course, extremely complex, and it now confronts mankind.

Relying on their militaristic policy, the imperialist circles of the United States had counted on using their nuclear monopoly to establish their diktat over the world and crush socialism and the liberation movements. Such a course could not and did not lead to the achievement of those man-hating goals. But it did lead to the militarization of political thinking, to the growth of suspicion and the aggravation of conflicts in various regions which, if not extinguished, can escalate into a world nuclear conflict.

It is impossible to accept that the Moloch of militarism consumes vast material and intellectual resources of mankind, dooming millions of people to hunger, disease and poverty, illiteracy and spiritual impoverishment, depriving them of any hope for a worthy life, and sowing hate and intolerance. More than a trillion dollars a year is spent on preparation for war. That is also the approximate debt of the developing countries, which keeps them from tackling vital problems and places them in a situation when matters may turn into a serious conflict.

The seeds of militarism are sprouting terrible crops in many areas of the world: America and Europe are literally bristling with a palisade of nuclear missiles of all kinds; Asia, Africa and Latin America are convulsed by military conflicts bringing death and destitution and destroying the fruits of people's peaceful labor; the waters of the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans are plowed by aircraft carriers and submarines armed with nuclear weapons capable of incinerating all life on earth; arsenals of mass annihilation of people are being stockpiled. It would seem that the madness of militarism had reached its outer limits. But no, militarism wants to be all-embracing and all-penetrating. It is aspiring to turn even outer space into its plantation on which the fruits of death and destruction could grow and multiply unhindered.

The peoples of the world cannot accept this threat. It is necessary to face it fearlessly and save our planet from catastrophe.

History knows numerous brilliant ideas which, after once amazing their contemporaries, remained unrealized. While presenting examples of profound revelations, they were unable to inspire the masses, because they were remote from national hopes and aspirations: they have survived only as monuments in the history of socio-political thought.

The historical strength of the Delhi Declaration consists in that it appeared at a time of profound crisis in traditional notions of the world and politics, when the idea of building a non-nuclear and non-violent world is in fact becoming a cause of all mankind and is ever more deeply gripping the minds of nations, public organizations and movement, of all ordinary people. The Declaration sets forth a noble goal understandable to all: that of utilizing the vast sums consumed by militarism for socio-economic development, eliminating poverty and disease, and solving acute global problems. It sets forth the principle of nonviolence as the basis of the human community, which means establishing peaceful coexistence in relations among states, respecting the right of every people to choose their ways of development, mutual understanding, trust and cooperation. It is also a recognition of the undying value of human life.

Speaking on November 20 in the Hyderabad Palace, Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi characterized the signing of the Delhi Declaration as an historical step along the road to a new world order. The level of philosophical perception of life, the scale of the tasks posed, the democratic nature of the approach to their solution make the Declaration a truly outstanding document of our time. It will go down in history as a major step in the development of the principled and constructive ideas of the UN Charter, the Bandung Declaration, the Helsinki Final Act, and the ideas of the nonaligned movement.

To survive mankind must resolutely reject political nearsightedness and any condoning of aggressive imperialist forces.

It is also necessary to correctly understand the fundamental characteristics of the current stage of social development and provide a comprehensive scientific analysis of the objective laws of capitalism and the dilemmas it is now confronting.

Can modern imperialism get along without the narcotic of militarism, can it live without neocolonialist exploitation of the peoples of developing countries and give up methods of military force? Are the leading circles of the main capitalist countries capable of an historical compromise which could assure the survival of mankind? The answers to these key questions depend not only on the subjective will of Western leaders but also on the will of the peoples, on their consciousness and organization, on their ability to raise the struggle for peace and their own survival to a qualitatively new level.

Pseudopatriotic slogans, racist and chauvinistic doctrines are being invoked. Behind them stand the selfish interests of the military-industrial complex, which gambles on fear and mistrust and cultivates political obscurantism so as to continue to pump gold mixed with sweat and blood from the bottomless well of the arms race.

Aggressive circles strive to constantly keep mankind at the brink of horror and despair, artificially creating the image of an enemy; they regard the rut of militarism as mankind's inevitable road, allegedly rooted in its very nature. Their policies are aimed at developing ever new military doctrines, putting together aggressive blocs and alliances, and formulating strategic concepts aimed at perpetuating the imperialist line, the purpose of which is to assert selfish interests all over the world and strive to establish world hegemony. Complete indifference to the crying problems of the modern world, habitually regarding peoples as "pawns" which can be moved at will on the chessboard of global politics: all these are manifestations of the old mentality, the old approach to the resolution of international problems.

The threat to economic security with which unbridled militarism is fraught, the tendency for sharp aggravation of contradictions between developed capitalist and developing countries; all this prompts the more soberly and realistically minded leaders of the capitalist world, too, towards fundamentally new ways of thinking, towards the search for ways out of this critically dangerous situation.

However, at the same time some people fall prey to illusions and follow mirages. The basis of the peoples' common will, which today can be expressed in concrete, practical actions, lies in an understanding of class and all-human interests. The Soviet Union has declared that our country will never use nuclear weapons first. We call for the freezing of military budgets and halting the

development of new types of weapons of mass destruction. Our statement of 15 January 1986 sets forth a concrete program of eliminating all nuclear weapons by the end of our century while preserving the ABM Treaty and banning the militarization of outer space. We adopted a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, which we maintained for 18 months. We formulated a comprehensive program of reducing armed forces and armaments on the continent of Europe to a level of reasonable sufficiency. We have presented a concrete plan of banning and eliminating chemical weapons. We have spearheaded initiatives in the field of organizing effective methods of verifying arms reductions, including on-site inspection.

Today the question is of uniting different streams of peaceloving forces, of new forms of productive interaction among them, of significantly enhancing the prestige of the United Nations as an effective tool of the world community in implementing peacemaking policies. M. S. Gorbachev's article, "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," published on 17 September, clearly and profoundly expresses this ripe historical necessity.

Dear friends!

The essence of perestroika lies in the acceleration of socio-economic development, extensive democratization, and effectively involving the entire nation in the resolution of all public matters. At the same time perestroika opens up new ways for the development and strengthening of external ties, the establishment of joint enterprises and associations, and the acceleration of integration processes. It helps bring peoples closer and humanize international relations.

Some people attempt to counter the new view of the modern world, which takes account of all its diversity, complexity and contradictions, with their "black-and-white" notion of humanity. The view of the whole world in black-and-white colors is more than just an exotic manifestation of an obscurantistic mentality or one's personal view of things. Behind it is a definite political trend which takes the form of intolerant anticommunism and antisovietism.

The forms of imperialist pressure undergo historical change, but their range is unlimited. Economic blockade, trade discrimination, organization of sophisticated propaganda campaigns: no holds are barred to prevent the development of normal relations among peoples and place obstacles on the road of mutually advantageous cooperation. This is accompanied by a virtual cornucopia of various accusations of insufficient openness, of closedness, self-isolation and human rights violations.

The policy of glasnost now pursued by our party proposes the debating of all issues and placing them before the judgment of world public opinion. We propose calling an international conference in Moscow to freely discuss the entire range of humanitarian problems which the West has

regarded as its special prerogative. Thus posed, the issue throws some people into a state of confusion, and various reservations and preconditions appear.

The Soviet Union and India are close neighbors. Close not only geographically, but also because contacts between our peoples, the roots of which go back many centuries, have always been based on the firm foundation of mutual liking and good will.

Lately our countries have reached important understandings in the spheres of policies, economic, scientific and technical ties, and in the cultural area. A major event was the festival devoted to the two great peoples' historical dates: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 40th anniversary of Indian independence. It provided an opportunity to get better acquainted with both peoples' achievements and cultural wealth and to enrich their cultural ties.

Dear friends!

Our perestroika has created such a broad international impact and won the deep appreciation of world public opinion precisely because it effectively asserts the principles of the new political thinking and philosophy of life.

We hold that relations among all nations must be based on generally recognized principles in keeping with the interests of all. We hold the view that assuring the reliable security of each state and all states together is possible only by peaceful political means: strict adherence to the requirements of the UN Charter, additional unilateral obligations of states, as well as confidence-building measures and international cooperation in all spheres: military-political, economic, ecological, humanitarian, and others.

A concrete expression of this is the concept of a universal system of international security developed by the 27th congress of the CPSU. It takes full account of the specific features of the legitimate interests of peoples, countries and regions. It is in this light that the Soviet program of strengthening peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region should be viewed. It takes into account the principles of "Pancha Shila" and Bandung, the experience of the armistice in Korea and the 1954 Geneva conference, the Indo-Pakistani agreement in Tashkent, and also the proposals of India, Mongolia, the ASEAN countries, the countries of Indochina, and others.

We consider it vitally important to call a Pacific conference on problems of peace, security and cooperation in the region with the participation of all countries adjoining on the Pacific Ocean.

The primary task is to incorporate the Asia-Pacific region in a worldwide, universal system of peace and international security, disband military groups and

remove foreign bases from Asia and the Pacific Ocean, and withdraw troops from foreign territories. We resolutely oppose US attempts to extend NATO "concerns" all over the world, including Asia and the Pacific Ocean. Together with many countries, the Soviet Union advocates implementation of the UN resolution on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We resolutely support the creation of nuclear-free zones in different regions.

Dear friends!

At our conference it is appropriate to view the Delhi Declaration from positions of historical realism and mankind's readiness to adopt and implement its ideas. There are, after all, differing assessments of the content of the Delhi Declaration. A considerable part of world public opinion has hailed the Delhi document with approval, seeing its philosophy and action program as a clear way towards ridding mankind of the threats and dangers hanging over it. But opposing views have also been expressed. I say nothing of reactionaries of all hues and tints, weapons manufacturers and merchants, and all those whose short-sighted and selfish interests are satisfied with the current state of affairs. But even some convinced champions of peace sometimes question the Delhi document's realism.

People's involvement in the affairs of all mankind develops not through the destruction of national specifics and uniqueness but through development, through mutual understanding and mutual spiritual enrichment.

Today this unified dialectical process embraces all peoples, asserting tolerance towards different life styles, and destroying group egoism and prejudices. It has accelerated immeasurably in our time. It is associated with worldwide denunciation of all forms of imperialist aggression, racist policies, and man-hating fascist ideology. This humanistic principle is rooted in the culture of all peoples. Passionate rejection of coercion of the individual and death, respect of man, recognition of his lofty destiny; these ideas are also vividly expressed in the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR and India, whose leaders became the authors of the Delhi Declaration.

The modern world is pluralistic and diverse. All attempts to force uniformity on it by military means are reactionary. Respect of the free choice of peoples by all is the only possible basis for agreed actions and common positions.

On the other hand, ignoring the peoples' will and their concern for salvaging modern civilization is a position which today places any politician, regardless of his social affinities or adherence to different ways of life, spiritual values or world outlook, beyond the pale of generally recognized humanistic principles.

In the final analysis, material factors prompt people's modes of action and thinking. History is characterized by man's continuous desire to master the forces of

nature. Man has striven to use every new discovery in science and technology for both peaceful and military purposes. As long as victory was possible in war it was frequently used to resolve political problems, both internal and external. But the scientific and technical revolution of the 20th century has produced such destructive types of weapons which preclude the possibility of victory of any side in a global military conflict. Manmade machines threaten death not only for belligerents but for mankind as a whole. To prevent this the people who build and control this machinery must once and for all renounce warfare as a means of achieving political and other goals.

The current situation dictates a universal criterion of humanism regardless of national, social or cultural differences of people. This is not a concoction, not an abstract good intention but a reflection of the realities of present-day life. The ominous mushrooms of the nuclear blasts over Hiroshima and Nagasaki clearly revealed the fact that military force with the use of state-of-the-art technical means also has an unlimited "boomerang effect." And not only military equipment. The accidents at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and nuclear stations in other countries have vividly demonstrated that today world production, too, requires the coordinated actions of peoples in critical situations. Diseases such as cancer and AIDS carry numerous time bombs. Extensive international cooperation is also needed to defuse those bombs. It is possible only in conditions of stable peace, mutual understanding and trust.

For some, justice in the resolution of international problems is an illusion which crumbles upon encountering the realities of the implacable struggle of egoistic interests. On such grounds it is possible to support policies which do not meet the principles of humanism and equal security. Implementation of the "Star Wars" program and placement of such exotic armaments as laser, kinetic, particle-beam and nuclear weapons in outer space cannot prevent a universal catastrophe and can only make it more possible and universal.

To this should be added that the very process of developing these new weapons systems has tremendous negative side effects—political, economic, ecological, psychological, and others. Taken together, all this restricts imperialism's freedom of choice and makes its stake on achieving unilateral advantage in the militaristic race untenable.

Hate and violence are not products of the spontaneous formation of human consciousness. They are products of a definite policy. Inherent in it is the view of the entire mass of people of one country or another, whether they are women or men, children or old people, as personal enemies. They are all seen as an implacable hostile force, a source of threat and danger which has to be removed

by whatever means. Today we must counter such erroneous, hidebound views and prejudices with the principles and traditions of the great spiritual and ethical culture which for centuries was developed and asserted by the best minds of mankind, by the representatives of all peoples. This culture asserts the principles of justice, equal security for all, and opens up the way to cooperation inherent with a tremendous potential for the social and economic development for all peoples, for successfully overcoming backwardness and poverty, for the solution of outstanding humanitarian problems. International cooperation opens up realistic ways of bringing great humanistic ideals closer, of making man himself the main purpose of social development.

Recognition of the principles of all-human culture as the spiritual mainstay of present-day politics derives from the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

General human principles have always inspired the revolutionary worker movement. The liberation of mankind from social and national oppression and the assertion of justice in international relations is the real goal of the proletariat's class struggle.

Development and improvement of military equipment and strengthening of the army was never socialism's voluntary choice. It was necessitated by conditions imposed upon us, by external hostile surroundings. Those who preached old dogmas of international politics as eternal and unshakeable could have viewed this with some distrust.

Today we can say that the time of historical truth has come. The Soviet Union and its allies have attained parity in the correlation of military strength. And what do they propose to the world today? Their military hegemony? Their diktat? No. They propose the complete elimination of all nuclear armaments and all other means of mass annihilation of people by the year 2000, the reduction of conventional armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency. They propose the establishment of a new economic order based on the principles of equality and justice so as to assure opportunities for the advancement of all peoples.

As M. S. Gorbachev stressed in his address at the meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "The new political thinking is not just a declaration or appeal; it is a philosophy of action, if you like, a philosophy of life. It continues to develop together with objective world processes. And it is already working."

Proceeding from this philosophy of life, we persistently seek movement in disarmament talks. As you know, fundamental agreements have already been achieved between the Soviet Union and the US on the elimination

of intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles. There is movement in questions of banning nuclear tests and eliminating chemical weapons and in defining approaches to considerable reductions in strategic offensive weapons.

The summit meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik gave powerful impetus to positive changes in the course of world events.

TV bridges, in which representatives of different countries discuss the most acute and complex problems before the eyes of the world public, are increasingly entering the practice of international life.

Today the philosophy of life is blazing new trails in big politics, breaking down prejudices and obsolete stereotypes, capturing the mass consciousness and asserting lofty humanistic values in it.

Dear friends!

We are living at a special time. It is a time of profound changes and high rates of development. Looking back and resurrecting in our memory the day of 27 November 1986, when the Declaration on the Principles of a Nuclear-Free and Non-Violent World was signed in Delhi, we cannot help but be amazed that in this historically brief time so many events have occurred in international life. And the most significant of these events is that, despite their contradictory and equivocal nature, it can definitively be said that they clearly reveal the trend towards positive change in international relations, towards overcoming the inertia leading mankind into an abyss.

Thank you for your attention.

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#### Demichev Speaks At Uzbek Party-Soviet Aktiv Meeting

18000124b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
2 Dec 87 pp 1,3

#### UzTAG Report

[UzTAG report on speech by P. N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a meeting of the Fergana Oblast party-soviet aktiv held on 30 November 1987 in Fergana: "Current Restructuring Tasks and the Operations of Soviets"]

[Text] As already reported, on 30 November a meeting of the oblast party-soviet aktiv was held in Fergana. In attendance were members of the buro and ispolkom of the oblast soviet, Komsomol workers from the oblast and the city of Fergana, and journalists.

Kh. U. Umarov, secretary of the CPSU obkom, reported to those attending concerning the tasks and directions of organizational and political work by the oblast party organization at a new and responsible stage of restructuring and concerning realization of economic reform tasks in light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The meeting was addressed by A. G. Likholat, chairman of the Fergana Gorispolkom; A. Buriyev, chairman of the Uzbekistskiy Rayispolkom; A. N. Mansurov, head of the oblast health department; and G. D. Kotovrasov, first deputy chairman of the oblast ispolkoms.

The speakers noted that democratization of life, glasnost, increased responsibility on the part of each worker and the struggle to eliminate the effects of negative phenomena which existed in the past are directly linked to the end results of production activity. It was stressed with satisfaction that many labor collectives successfully fulfilled the socialist obligations which they undertook in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. According to preliminary data, the plan for the first two years of the current five-year plan for production volume and sales will be fulfilled by 24 December, and a total of 70 million rubles worth of above-plan production will be achieved.

Those administrators who support restructuring in words while hindering it through their actions were spoken of in a critical tone. Our oblast is not meeting its plan goals for contract shipment of goods, and the quality of many items remains low.

Beginning on 1 January 1988, 52 enterprises in our oblast will begin to operate under conditions of economic management, and their share of total production volume will rise to almost 70 percent. This will require that both party organs and soviets make maximum efforts to ensure that from the very first days of the new year industry operates at high speed and with a smooth production rhythm.

New forms of labor organization are also currently being introduced in the construction field. At this time more than one-half of all construction organizations are working under collective contracts. This is a good precondition for ensuring that the plan for the first two years of this five-year period for the construction of housing, schools and preschool facilities will be fulfilled. However, insufficient supervision by the ispolkoms of local soviets has led to the threat of delays in the introduction of fixed capital into production, utilization of capital investments and completion of construction and installation projects.

The situation in the cotton fields was spoken of with great concern. Our oblast has procured a little more than 90 percent of its planned goal for cotton production. Due to poor weather the cotton crop, grown with a great deal of labor, has had to be harvested by hand, and thousands

of people have come to the farmers' aid. They have overcome cold and snow with their courage and skill. Kirovskiy, Frunzenskiy, Leningradskiy, Kuvinskiy and Buvaydinskiy rayons are now on the verge of completing their goal for the year. Much cotton remains in the fields, and it is a matter of honor for the people of Fergana Oblast to harvest every last bale.

At the meeting work by soviets of people's deputies was analyzed. A consistent course toward increasing their activism and independence and developing their initiative should be pursued. A democratic atmosphere, adherence to principles during discussion of issues and a serious interest in improving the situation — these are the hallmarks of restructuring in the operations of local soviets. That restructuring received new impetus during the election campaign. In Buvaydinskiy Rayon elections to local soviets were based on multi-mandate electoral districts. This new, democratic system has met with voters' approval. The certification process conducted for the staff of soviets has also helped increase activism in soviets' operations.

Work with cadres and increases in their ideological, political and vocational training, noted the speakers, are very important objectives, and those objectives are being carried out by the oblast party organization.

The speakers pledged that the oblast's communists and workers will make every possible effort to implement in every way the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The meeting was addressed by P. N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

#### Speech by P. N. Demichev

Comrades!

Today the affairs of our party and people are proceeding under the growing influence of the strategy outlined at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress.

As you are aware, on 19-20 October of this year the 8th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held; that session discussed the 1988 State Plan for Economic and Social Development and progress toward fulfillment of the 1987 State Plan.

On 21 October a Central Committee Plenum discussed questions pertaining to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, as well as current tasks.

On 2 November a joint ceremonial meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in commemoration of the jubilee of the Great October Revolution opened at the Kremlin; after that meeting there was a meeting of the representatives of parties and movements attending the celebration.

The attention of the entire world public was fixed upon the events in Moscow.

The participants in the ceremonial meeting, the Soviet people and the world public listened with keen attention to a report by General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev entitled "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues." And that is understandable: in that report answers were given to the key questions concerning construction of a socialist society under present-day conditions, as well as to key problems of world development. Today these questions are of concern to everyone.

M. S. Gorbachev's report illuminated the 70-year road traveled by our party and people. It revealed a broad historical panorama of great achievements by the pioneer builders of a new society and clearly defined the prospects of communist construction.

In addition, the report gave an objective, comprehensive, well-balanced evaluation not only of historical achievements, but also of past mistakes. This lesson in honesty and adherence to principles is necessary in order to be able to draw the proper conclusions from historical experience and set the course of restructuring with greater precision.

As M. S. Gorbachev emphasized, the idea of restructuring has its roots in our 70-year history and in the firm foundations of a fundamentally new social edifice which has been constructed during the Soviet period; it combines heritage and innovation, the historical experience of Bolshevism and present-day socialism.

The spirit of historical truth with which the entire report was imbued is the foundation for the ideological consolidation of Soviet society and reinforcement of the moral and political unity of party and people.

The fact that the report included a thorough and uncompromising appraisal of the orientations of socialism, the principles of socialist democracy, dogmatic, subjectivist and other types of errors and manifestations of stagnation is testimony to the fact that the party will continue to work purposefully and unwaveringly to implement the primary goal of restructuring, which is to fully restore the Leninist concept of socialism both theoretically and practically; in that concept unquestioned priority is assigned to the working man and his ideals and interests, to humanistic values in the economy, in social and political relations, and in culture.

Restructuring is a continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution. This primary conclusion in the report was integrally perceived by the representatives of party and social movements who spoke during the anniversary ceremonies. It was also correctly understood by the Soviet people.

Therein lies the report's tremendous mobilizing power; the report will undoubtedly provide a powerful impetus to the masses' restructuring efforts, strengthen their ideological underpinnings and encourage development of our country's scientific research and cultural life in the proper directions.

During the years which have passed since the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a very short period of time, the party has succeeded in outlining the main principles and orientations of restructuring; important steps have already been taken toward practical implementation of these.

The upcoming year of 1988 should be regarded as a decisive year with regard to implementation of the main restructuring tasks pertaining to economic administration.

While noting the initial successes and positive results of restructuring, we should not consider the victory won yet. The tasks facing us are complex and weighty. Performing those tasks will require new approaches and persistent, ambitious labor. We must not retreat from difficulties, we must instead stubbornly seek the most effective ways of overcoming them; by increasing discipline and organization everywhere, working persistently to raise the level of quality, not blaming everything on objective factors, not passing the buck, instead mobilizing one's own forces, seeking untapped resources and organizing work innovatively. Everyone must remember that the success of the common cause depends on skillful and persistent work by each individual.

The local soviets of Fergana Oblast also face large and weighty tasks, continued the speaker. Above all that means active, fruitful work by each deputy under conditions of restructuring. Deputies have now been granted broad rights, but unfortunately not all of them are aware of that fact yet. Instead of resolving vitally important questions swiftly and efficiently, on the spot, some comrades are attempting to hide behind other people; instead of putting forth an effort to move ahead on a given problem, they send appeals for assistance "upstairs." To a certain extent these shortcomings also apply to you, although there are abundant examples of businesslike, truly energetic, innovative work by deputies.

The Tashlakskiy Rayon Soviet found the correct solution to a problem which is currently extremely acute not only for our oblast, but for the entire Fergana Valley as well: it found land for individual housing construction, despite numerous assertions that there was no such land available in this zone of established cultivation. The

deputies arrived at this positive result thanks to pains-taking, persistent work with people and careful study of local conditions; they found ways of securing building materials for individual home builders, even such scarce materials as wood — they began planting poplars. This is the approach which should be taken not only with regard to resolution of the housing problem, but also with regard to the entire complex of the social sphere, efforts to overcome shortcomings in the public's supply of food products and industrial goods and in the operations of public food service, service sector and transportation enterprises; ways of resolving vital issues should be sought in innovative ways.

Comrades!

The party has set a firm course toward implementation of an active social policy. In accordance with the State Plan, four-fifths of the entire national income is being used to meet the public's needs. What is more, expenditures for education, science, health care and social security are slated to increase twice as fast as national income.

Major measures are being undertaken to resolve the food problem. But not all those measures are working as we would like. Old approaches which discourage initiative by rural workers still persist.

One of our acute problems is storage and processing of everything that is cultivated. Losses incurred during storage of agricultural products are intolerably high. Our task is to eliminate disproportions in the development of the various sectors of the agroindustrial complex, ensure more complete integration of agricultural and processing facilities and provide for balanced development of their material-technical base.

You are aware of how acutely and on how large a scale questions pertaining to accelerated development of the processing industry were posed at a CPSU Central Committee meeting held on 17 October of this year. M. S. Gorbachev characterized them as major policy issues. And that is indeed true, because the welfare of millions of Soviet people will depend upon how well those questions are resolved. But that will require additional effort on our part.

One special characteristic of the party's current policy is that it integrally combines implementation of large-scale nationwide programs with the opening up of broad opportunities for initiative by enterprises, development of cooperatives and individual labor activity.

Today the obstacles to the development of personal farm plots have been removed, the public's demand for garden plots met and kolkhoz members' private plots are beginning to be utilized to increase production of food products. But there is still a great deal of inertia and bureaucratic obstacles blocking resolutions to all these problems. All that must be decisively eliminated.

It is important that we do everything possible to imbue people with a sense of proprietorship toward their regions, oblasts, rayons, cities and villages. Problems relating to the comprehensive development of regions, ecological protection, preservation of historical and cultural monuments, beautification of population centers, their cleanliness and public order should be a permanent focus of attention.

Excessive centralism has made it impossible to successfully solve these highly important problems. It has given rise to narrow departmentalism, a technocratic approach, disregard for people's needs and wants, unequal social development and other major shortcomings, including shortcomings in the area of efficient utilization of resources, solutions to transportation problems, etc.

The party sees increasing the role of soviets in economic and social development as a real means of resolving these problems. Soviets should perform their role as fully empowered decision-making organs.

Without further development of socialist democracy it is impossible to increase initiative by the masses, instill in each person a sense of ownership and increase each person's feeling of responsibility for the common cause. Democratic principles should have greater importance in all spheres.

Expansion of the role of soviets as organs of self-government and people's power is being carried out by the people themselves, and will require thorough restructuring of soviets' operations. One could say that a resolution by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers from 25 July 1986 entitled "On Measures To Increase Further the Role and Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies For Acceleration of Social and Economic Development In Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress" had precisely this fundamental goal in mind.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has discussed the work of a number of local soviets with regard to their compliance with this resolution and has noted serious shortcomings.

Thus, in its consideration of the work of soviets of people's deputies in the TaSSR with regard to utilization of local capacities to expand production, improve the quality of food products and improve food supplies to the public, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that in that republic no decisive measures have been taken to improve administration of the agroindustrial complex, and this has led to lags in fulfillment of the Food Program, a slackening of plan discipline and major shortcomings in agriculture and animal husbandry, utilization of the processing industry's full capacities, technical refitting of that industry and resolution of rural social problems.

The Chelyabinsk Oblast Ispolkom was the subject of sharp criticism at the plenum due to its inertia with regard to compliance with the resolution of 25 July 1986.

Major shortcomings in the work of soviets in Kara-Kalpak ASSR were revealed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Presidium members were seriously concerned by the poor work of people's deputies to protect socialist property, their large material and financial losses, and major shortcomings in work to instill in the public a spirit of intolerance toward abuses of public property.

The burden of the past continues to weigh heavily on the operations of many local soviets. Excessive centralization and an overly bureaucratic style of economic management have led to a situation in which local soviets have essentially ceased to play the leading role in the economic and social development of their territories. A decline in soviets' real authority has led to bureaucratic hypertrophy in their work, sluggishness, lack of initiative and fear of making decisions on major issues.

The aforementioned resolution by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers grants broad rights to local soviets. But the latter are still too timid with regard to their exercise of those rights.

Restructuring of soviets is closely linked to increases in the level of their work with regard to economic and social planning. The plans adopted by soviets should become an effective lever for regional development. We assume that the comprehensive nature of plans encompassing all associations, enterprises and organizations located within a given territory, regardless of which departmental jurisdiction they fall under, will create favorable conditions for efficient work by each labor collective. In other words, a correct social policy will also have a positive effect on the development of production.

A certain amount of experience has already been accumulated in that direction. For example, innovative work by soviets in Belorussia and the Ukraine is yielding serious, positive results.

However, modern approaches to planning are still being applied very slowly. The figures supplied by enterprises are often mechanical and are submitted for approval to soviets without in-depth analysis. When considering draft plans for enterprises and organizations, many local soviets and their planning organs operate within a framework of traditional approaches, are not doing enough to encourage enterprises to produce on a collective basis the equipment needed to reduce manual labor, are not encouraging the establishment of services which could be used collectively and are not bringing up questions concerning utilization of idle production capacities, warehouse space and auxiliary buildings by other enterprises.

Thus far the majority of soviets have not made clear what benefits could accrue to oblasts, cities and rayons if enterprises and organizations were to pool their efforts and funds in order to solve economic problems, or from the scientific and planning institutions located on the territory of those enterprises and organizations.

We feel that the establishment of kray- and oblast-level councils of production-related and economic main administrations under ispolkoms would be an important step toward expanding the role of soviets in economic and social development. Of course, in this respect much will depend on the level of the cadres who make up those administrations and the entire content of their work.

But, of course, not just on that. The idea is to make the entire contingent of deputies function in a new way. Restructuring requires the deputies of soviets to acquire a new way of thinking. They can no longer be satisfied with the fact that a given department is meeting certain individual needs in its territory, is building housing or facilities for consumer needs and municipal services. Soviets should keep sight not only of these problems, but also of long-range economic, ecological, cultural and ethical problems. And those problems require broad public discussion rather than discussion behind closed doors, because the entire public has a stake in them.

That means that soviets should learn to live in an atmosphere of glasnost and teach others to do the same, create in all places such a situation as will permit the individual to fully demonstrate his or her civic stance and have a sense of proprietorship.

Visible signs of democratization are already in evidence in a majority of soviets. Recently sessions and permanent commissions have become noticeably more active and supervision over organs under soviets' jurisdiction has been tightened. Work to realize the voters' mandates has become more diverse in nature.

But if we compare the work being done by soviet organs with the tremendous potential of Soviet people's power we arrive at an obvious conclusion: only the first steps have been taken toward realization of that potential. The main thing now is not just to reinforce existing positive tendencies in the activities of soviets and the organs under their control, but also to increase substantially the efficiency and effectiveness of all their work, put that work in closer contact with real-life issues and make it truly businesslike.

The closest possible ongoing, businesslike ties between the organs of power and labor collectives should become the rule rather than the exception. All our democratic forms of operations should be subordinate to this: accounts by ispolkoms, departments and individual deputies before labor collectives; on-site sessions of ispolkoms and permanent commissions at plants, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Counsel with the people should become an indispensable precondition for the passage of socially significant decisions. Activism in the formulation of issues which are of concern to the masses and an ability to defend the public's interests and combat a narrowly departmentalized approach are increasing the authority of soviets' executive organs.

Speaking at ceremonies in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, M. S. Gorbachev clearly defined prospects for work by soviets as the people's power, emphasizing that development of self-government will take place primarily through the soviets. In connection with this, work is under way to consider proposals defining ways to expand the role of people's deputies and democratize the organs of power.

The solution to this question is directly linked to strengthening of the authority of the people's elected officials, intensification of analytical and supervisory work by elective organs, activation of work by permanent commissions, improved practical realization of the voters' mandates and development of deputies' initiative.

Recently new positive aspects have begun to appear in deputies' work. These include the formation of deputy groups and posts, activation of work at people's places of residence, the creation of various public organizations which will make it possible to strengthen ties with the masses and increase their creative activism. Cadre certification has begun to be conducted among ispolkom staff. Cadre certification is not a bureaucratic formality. It should become an effective mechanism which makes it possible to evaluate on a deeper level the political and business qualities of staff members and better know their strong and weak sides. It is a way to raise soviets' level of work with cadres and create a pool for future promotions.

Soviets need an infusion of fresh, active people who are capable of really resolving current issues and the complex problems raised by restructuring. All this has made it necessary to seriously consider improvement of the electoral system. That was the purpose of the experiment conducted during recent soviet elections from multi-mandate electoral districts.

Comrades!

The problems which we are resolving today are complex; they are of a truly historic scale. But our society's potential is also tremendous, as are the opportunities offered by restructuring and the Soviet people's energy and initiative.

The party and the Soviet people entered the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution on the march, in the process of profound revolutionary transformations. Surveying the road we have traveled and its historic victories and difficulties, the party drew this correct main conclusion: the socialist path was and remains the sole correct path for our social development.

Historical experience convincingly demonstrates that socialism possesses tremendous creative potential; the historical future belongs to socialism.

The entire world knows of our historic achievements in the implementation of fundamental economic and social transformations in the fields of science, culture, education and guarantees for workers' fundamental rights. The indestructible friendship of the USSR's peoples was born and grew strong on the foundation of socialism. The Soviet Union bore on its shoulders the incredible hardships of the Second World War and played the decisive role in the defeat of fascism's military machine, which threatened to enslave all of humanity. And in the post-war period the Soviet Union neutralized the creeping forces of imperialist reaction, which aimed at establishing world domination. Through tremendous efforts and sacrifice the Soviet people have created a mighty defensive shield which makes it possible to deter imperialist aggressive forces around the world, preventing them from unleashing another world war.

Celebration of the glorious jubilee of the socialist revolution has become a powerful factor in mobilizing the energy of the Soviet people, directing that energy toward performance of the main tasks of restructuring and toward continuation and strengthening of the work begun by the Great October Revolution.

The 19th CPSU Party Conference will be held in the summer of 1988. We should all approach it with substantial results, taking an important step toward realization of the historic plans of Lenin's party.

P. N. Demichev addressed key issues of the current international situation and the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. He stressed that our party is consistently and persistently struggling to realize its main objective: the creation of an all-encompassing international security system in order to move ahead toward a world free of nuclear weapons.

The meeting was also attended by I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the UzSSR CP, and A. P. Romanovskiy, deputy chairman of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet.

**USSR: Shcherbitskiy Sums Up Plenum Results**  
*AU011230 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Jan 88 pp 1-5*

[RATAU report: "Mastering Political Methods of Leadership, Deepening Restructuring in All Links"]

[Excerpts] As reported, the plenum of the Ukrainian-Communist Party Central Committee, held on 22-23 January, discussed the accountability report of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo on the work in leadership of restructuring. The

report, delivered on behalf of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, was followed by discussions.

The concluding speech was delivered by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary. He said:

We have consulted, and feel that there is every reason to say: The plenum was held in an atmosphere of an exchange of opinions in an open and business-like way, and of assessing the state of affairs in a party-like adherence to principles. Quite a few fair remarks and wishes were addressed to Central Committee Politburo members, secretaries, and other leading officials in republic-level organs. All this reflects a sound dissatisfaction with what has been done, and the desire to improve the situation.

Our tasks have become more complex in many respects, and they call for mobilizing all efforts, for active support for everything that is new, and for constant attention to cadres. It is essential for everyone to know his business well, to handle it with the feeling of very high responsibility, and to mind both his own and common business.

The speakers correctly emphasized that paramount attention should be paid to collectives working under the new management conditions. It is essential to help them take maximum advantage of the possibilities inherent in the economic reform. On this basis we can this year achieve substantial results both in raising economic effectiveness, and in improving the people's prosperity. This is a task of particular political significance.

What matters the most now is to think over and organize well and in detail the implementation of everything what was delineated in the discussions on the accountability reports delivered by elective organs, and of the decisions adopted by the present Central Committee plenum. First of all, it is necessary to determine the most complex tasks, and to set about their accomplishment with maximum engagement and efficiency.

It is essential to help every basic party organization determine its concrete tasks and the place of each communist in this work, examine questions concerning the passiveness of individual party members, and establish business-like relations with partners in supplies. In this way, the labor collective and its party organization should become the center of all party political work.

Critical remarks and wishes were addressed at the plenum to practically every Politburo member personally. I have been instructed to tell the Central Committee plenum that all Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members accepted these remarks and wishes with the feeling of high responsibility and that

they would draw from them appropriate conclusions. We also hope that other leading officials present here will draw, without any delay, appropriate conclusions, because many of them incur in their work similar shortcomings.

Of course, we still have many shortcomings and omissions, still have very much to do, and we must set about our work better than hitherto, without giving in to difficulties, without dramatizing the situation, but also without simplifying it. The guarantee of our optimism, of our confidence in the success lies in the constantly growing support on the part of all Soviet people for the line taken by the party on restructuring. Evidence of this support is the fact that hundreds of collectives are undertaking to fulfill their 3-year plans before the 19th Party Conference.

The decision which the plenum will adopt is a plan for action, a plan worked out collectively, and it must become the basis for our work at the second stage of restructuring. We are confident that every member of the Central Committee will contribute his or her part in its implementation.

#### **LiSSR CC Hits Party Bodies For Failing To Guide Restructuring**

*18000114a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
29 Nov 87 p 1*

[Report: "In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania adopted a resolution on major shortcomings in reports made by the party on guidance of restructuring.

An analysis of the course of party meetings with a discussion of the reports of elected bodies of the primary party organizations in the republic showed that in many cases they were poorly prepared and were not a serious examination for the party organizations on compliance with the requirements of restructuring, nor an efficient means of awakening the activity of the communists.

The reports of the party committees and bureaus of the Kayter Experimental-Pilot Plant for Sanitary Engineering Items, the Kaunas Motorbus Park, a number of party organizations of the Sovetskiy Rayon of Vilnius, the Ambrazishky Rayon Sovkhoz in Moletskiy Rayon and the kolkhozes Yankay in Shakyayskiy Rayon, Zhaydelyay in Kupishkskiy Rayon and Venibe in Tauragaskiy Rayon were made formally, in the old way. At these and a number of other meetings, the work of the primary party organizations at the first stage of restructuring was not analyzed thoroughly and no exacting evaluation of the activity of the elected bodies and their secretaries was given. Many questions connected with key problems of the new stage of restructuring—further democratization of society and implementation of radical economic

reforms—were often passed over. Little attention is focused on preparing enterprises and farms for work under the conditions of cost accounting and self-financing and the role of party organizations, of each communist, in this matter. Problems of the development of self-government in the labor collectives, of appointing managers by election and of certifying personnel at all levels are often neglected.

Discussion of the content of the ideological and political-educational work being carried out is often moved into the background as compared with purely economic questions. Problems of international and patriotic education are examined only superficially.

The reports do not always arouse communists to frank, open discussions and do not give rise to an interested exchange of opinions. The circumvented formulations, which do not draw in the evaluations and conclusions of anyone personally, considerably reduce the keenness of the discussions. There are few criticisms directed toward the party committees and bureaus, their secretaries and economic directors. As a rule, no questions are asked of those giving the reports.

At the meetings held, there were hardly any significant, constructive suggestions containing unusual approaches, directed toward improving party work and further development of democracy in the party and society as a whole.

Not all communists show the proper regard for principles in evaluating the passivity and inactivity of individual secretaries and members of the party committees and party bureaus. The solution to urgent personnel problems is unjustifiably postponed. In the course of the report meetings held, only 21 members of party committees and bureaus were recalled, including 14 secretaries of primary party organizations, who had not coped with the duties entrusted to them.

Members of the Central Committee and secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms of the Communist Party of Lithuania took little part in the meetings of the communists who discussed the reports of the party committees and party bureaus. Increasingly often the representatives of the higher party organizations limit themselves to attending meetings and do not give the elected aktiv of the primary party organizations the proper assistance in carrying out preparatory work. The republic and local press are doing a poor job of covering the course of this campaign.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania made it obligatory for the party gorkoms and raykoms to thoroughly analyze the content of the party meetings, with a discussion of the reports of the party committees and party bureaus. The following recommendations were made: that when the meetings went badly, at a low organizational-political level, without an exacting analysis of party guidance in restructuring, their decisions be rescinded and new ones be made; that these

meetings be prepared in a detailed and thorough manner, so that they would play their own mobilizing role in activating the restructuring of the work of the primary party organizations and their elected organs on the basis of the requirements of the speech of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at the conference held within the system of the CPSU Central Committee;

That the most active participation of the members and candidate-members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the party gorkoms and raykoms and of the workers of the party committee systems in preparing and carrying out these meetings be considered necessary;

That all the critical comments and proposals by communists, expressed in the course of the meetings, be reviewed and that efficient measures be taken to carry them out; that the results of discussing the problems of restructuring be correlated; that the proposals and comments on the problems of democratizing the life of the party and society be directed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

Attention was drawn in the resolution to serious preparation of the plenums of the party gorkoms and raykoms and to carrying them out in accordance with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On Conducting Plenums of the Party Committees and Meetings of Communists With Discussion of the Reports of Elected Bodies Concerning Work on Guiding Restructuring."

The mass information media are obliged to devote more attention to covering the course of the party meetings of the primary party organizations and plenums of the party gorkoms and raykoms with reports of the party committees and bureaus; to attribute particular importance to innovative undertakings and efficient forms and methods of party organization work directed toward organizational and ideological safeguarding of the goals of the new stage of restructuring.

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#### Biosketch of New LiSSR First Secretary Published

18000114b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
2 Dec 87 p 1

[Article: "Ringaudas-Bronislovas Ignovich Songayla—First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania"]

[Text] Ringaudas-Bronislovas Ignovich Songayla, born in 1929, is a Lithuanian and has been a member of the CPSU since 1953. He graduated from the Lithuanian Veterinary Academy.

Since 1952, R.I. Songayla has been engaged in Komsomol and later, in party and Soviet work.

In 1962, R.I. Songayla was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and in 1981 was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR. Since 1985 he has been Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

R.I. Songayla is a member of the CPSU Central Inspection Commission, a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, a deputy of the 10th and 11th USSR Supreme Soviet and a deputy of the 5th-11th Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

For service to the Communist Party and Soviet State, R.I. Songayla has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution, three orders of the Labor Red Banner, the Badge of Honor and medals. The honorary title of Honored Worker in Republic Agriculture has been conferred upon him.

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### **Experiment in Decentralized Customs Control Begun in Estonia**

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian  
9 Sep 87 p 1

[Interview with Valeriy Dranov, deputy chief of the USSR Main Administration of State Customs Control for the USSR Council of Ministers, by R. Amos, ETA correspondent: "A New Customs-House System"; date and place not given]

[Text] Customs officials are hard-working, watchful and serious people. On this occasion, however, they were joyfully excited and smiling. The reason—the order of the chief of the Main Administration of State Customs Control for the USSR Council of Ministers on forming the first republic customs-house in the country.

[Question] In what way does the organization created differ from the former system? The ETA correspondent wanted to learn from Valeriy Dragonov, deputy chief of the USSR main administration.

[Answer] There are many differences. In the first place, the legal sphere of influence in the section pertaining to state customs control now extends throughout the territory of the republic. While up until now, both the Tallinn and the Novotallinn customs-houses were directly under the jurisdiction of the union main administration, now they and the recently created Saaremaa and Rakvere customs posts will be a part of the Estonian republic customs-house. In addition, an institute of authorized persons has been set up at enterprises that have direct export-import connections with foreign states. The authorized persons—state customs officials—will draw the community into their work. Public commissions on

customs matters are also being organized. Customs control will be performed right at the enterprises, which will considerably accelerate the movement of freight across the border.

[Question] As I understand, these goods will no longer be checked at the state border?

[Answer] As a rule, no. I must add that this new task of the customs units calls for assisting republic industry in carrying out foreign trade plans as well. Today this form of customs control will be introduced at the Talleks Production Association, at Baltiyskay Manufaktura, Krengolmskaya Manufaktura and the Kekhtna Sovkhoz.

[Question] What served as the impetus for organizing a republic customs-house?

[Answer] We considered it necessary, in order to improve the administration of customs affairs, intensify control over export and import freight and increase the efficiency of using a staff, to form a system of republic customs-houses. The Belorussian Territorial Customs Service was organized three months ago, but not all the customs points in the republic are included in it. Here in the Estonian SSR, the truly first general republic system has been created.

[Question] Why was it our republic that was selected for the experiment?

[Answer] I will speak directly: The Tallinn and Novotallinn customs-houses have proved to be more prepared for innovation—both by business organization and by work experience. In addition, after the renovation of the Maritime Terminal, new technology will be introduced there, and with this, customs inspection will begin to take minimal time, but the throughput capacity will be maximal. V. Arusaar, first chief of the Estonian Republic Customs-House, has been appointed state councilor of the customs service, grade 3.

12151

### **UkSSR Supreme Soviet Session Reports Published**

Gosplan Chairman Report  
18000108 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
14 Nov 87 p 2

[Report by deputy V. P. Fokin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the UkSSR Gosplan: "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Ukrainian SSR for 1988 and on the Course of Fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development in 1987"]

[Text] Respected comrade deputies! In October 1917 the people of our country made their historical choice: Under the leadership of Lenin's party they boldly followed the unbeaten path of revolutionary transformations and established and defended in battles the multi-national state of the soviets and the reliable stronghold

of peace and social justice. At the joint grand meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an all-around objective evaluation of every period in the development and consolidation of the new social system, put forward inspiring program propositions for its renewal, and, essentially, restored Lenin's concept of socialism.

The Ukraine's workers, like the entire Soviet nation, ardently approve the aims and conclusions set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's report and the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Politburo of the Central Committee concerning the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the party policy of acceleration of the country's social and economic development. Profoundly realizing that restructuring is carried out in the interests of the man of labor and for the sake of attaining the goals and ideals of the October Revolution, they are fully resolved to transform the energy of great ideas into the energy of practical actions.

Analyzing the key problems of modern society, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev stressed the decisive importance of the forthcoming 2 or 3 years of the current five-year plan. "In the economy," he said, "it is necessary to make profound structural shifts, to bring about an improvement in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to basically restructure the economic mechanism, and, thus, to make a decisive step in the transfer of the national economy to the path of intensification."

Proceeding from these directives, we will have to discuss today the draft of the state plan for the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR for 1988, which is an important means of accomplishing the immediate tasks concerning the realization in our republic of the strategic line of the 27th party congress, which was further specified at the January, June, and October (1987) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plan is based on the concept of acceleration of social and economic development and measures to overcome unfavorable tendencies in the economy and to mobilize all social forces and resources for the further improvement in the life of the Soviet people and increase in the contribution of the Ukrainian SSR to the strengthening of the country's national economic complex.

#### **On the Course of Plan Fulfillment and Characteristics of the Economic Situation Formed in the Republic by the Beginning of 1988**

The second year of the 12th Five-Year Plan is coming to an end and there is already a basis for talking about certain positive shifts in all the spheres of the economy and social life. In the process of systematic democratization of national economic management the powers of

local soviets of people's deputies have expanded and their responsibility for an overall development of the territory subordinate to them has increased.

Measures to improve the sectorial structure have been implemented. A real basis is being created for the transition to economic methods of management. The scientific and technical potential is being better utilized, the links of science with production are being strengthened, and the return on republic overall programs is growing. Resource saving technologies and new methods of labor and production organization are being introduced.

As a result, virtually all the basic assignments of the five-year plan for 2 years will be fulfilled. In 10 months of 1987 the volume of industrial production increased by 4.5 percent with an annual assignment of 3.6 percent. Electric power engineering is operating stably, coal, petroleum, and gas industries are overfulfilling planned assignments, and the operation of enterprises of mining, by-product coke, and other sectors has been stabilized.

Major transformations have been implemented in the agro-industrial complex. Its material and technical base is being strengthened and conditions are being created for stable management through an extensive application of intensive technologies. Work has been activated on the introduction of the collective contract and intracost accounting. The process of establishment of more advanced structural formations—agro-industrial combines, associations, agro-firms, and scientific production systems—has begun.

The yield of the grain field has increased considerably during the current year. The yield is 21 percent higher than last year's level, totaling 32.2 quintals per hectare. Gross grain output has exceeded 50 million tons. According to the year's results the fulfillment of the plan for purchases of grain, sunflowers, flax fiber, potatoes, vegetables, and grapes, as well as of livestock products, is expected.

The social program is being realized consistently. The average monthly wages of workers and employees, kolkhoz members' wages, and payments and benefits from public consumption funds are growing more rapidly than envisaged by the 2-year plan. More housing, general educational schools, preschool institutions, hospitals, dispensaries, and polyclinics will be introduced than planned.

At the same time, negative tendencies in the development of individual sectors of the economy, breaches of planning discipline, inability to work under new conditions, and manifestations of irresponsibility and conservatism have had a marked effect on the course of plan fulfillment.

Many enterprises and associations are breaking contractual obligations concerning deliveries of products. Metallurgists are not fulfilling assignments for the output of

efficient types of rolled metal products. Machine builders have not been able to ensure the preassigned rates of growth of production volumes. The assortment and quality of articles in light industry sectors are being improved slowly. The rates of development of the domestic service system are lagging behind planned drafts. The commodity turnover plan is not being fulfilled, which has a negative effect on the revenue part of the republic budget. It has not been possible to bring about an improvement in the work of the construction complex.

Under the conditions of consistent democratization of society's management the republic's planning bodies pay special attention to the recommendations and requests of deputies. Unfortunately, however, the decisions made are by no means always realized in practice. For example, only 69 percent of the funds for the construction of a preventive sanatorium in Donetsk allocated at the suggestion of Comrade A. P. Fisun, deputy of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, have been utilized in 10 months. The commissioning of a dormitory at the Poltava Pedagogical Institute under construction at the suggestion of Comrade A. I. Kocherga, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has been disrupted.

UkSSR ministries and departments and local soviets should critically analyze the state of affairs in sectors and regions and take measures to intensify the management of economic activity so that during the remaining time they can reach the planned goals and create a reliable economic base for a stable operation of the republic's national economy from the first days of next year.

#### **Basic Indicators of the Plan for 1988, Rates, and National Economic Proportions**

The state plan for the economic and social development of the UkSSR for 1988 submitted for consideration has been formed on the basis of the assignments of the five-year plan, in many indicators surpasses them, and is an organic part of the all-Union plan approved by the 8th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation. It is directed toward the solution of urgent restructuring problems, attainment of qualitatively new economic growth indicators, and further acceleration of the rates of social progress. It reflects workers' counter-plans and the recommendations of the commissions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and takes into consideration instructions from electors and proposals by local soviets and people's deputies.

The economic situation in 1988 will not be simple. The decisive stage in the radical reform in economic management is beginning. In connection with the transfer of enterprises and associations to the new conditions of management it was necessary to fundamentally change the forms and methods of planning and to bring them in correspondence with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). This has left a special mark on the nature, structure, and content of the plan.

First, the antiexpenditure nature of indicators has been strengthened and their number, both those approved and those assigned to executors, has been reduced to less than one-half, which makes it possible to get rid of secondary assignments and, along with a rise in the role of centralized planning, to extend the boundaries of the economic activity of enterprises.

Second, approximately one-third of the enterprises and associations, which account for more than one-half of the commodity output, will begin to work under the new conditions of economic management as of 1 January 1988. Economic conditions, under which the cost accounting interests of enterprises would be combined with general state interests, should be created for them.

Third, proceeding from the tasks of most fully meeting the needs of the national economy and the population and ensuring an intersectorial and regional coordination of material balances, four interconnected sections based on a new indicator—the state order—have been formed in the plan structure. On the average, it encompasses about 70 percent of the volume of output and now for the first time the enterprises themselves will form a significant part of the products list program. State and regional management bodies are obligated to create for labor collectives conditions for an independent development by them of a production program, which includes deliveries of products in accordance with state orders and on the basis of direct economic contracts.

Fourth, in accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving the Activity of Republic Management Bodies" local soviets are entrusted with the management of work on the development of the social sphere, construction, production of consumer goods, and realization of paid services for the public, on the utilization of labor resources and local types of raw materials and supplies, on nature protection, and on land use.

The forthcoming economic year will be of special importance for a successful fulfillment of the entire five-year plan. Therefore, the plan, on the whole, envisages higher rates of growth of public production as compared to the attained ones.

The national income will increase by 3.6 percent and as of the beginning of the five-year plan, by 11.2 percent. The productivity of national labor will increase by 11.4 percent as compared to the 1985 level. The entire increase in the national income will be ensured on this basis.

The intensification of the plan's social direction is indicated by the fact that four-fifths of the republic's national income is assigned for meeting the population's needs and the share of fixed capital of the nonproduction sphere in the structure of increase in the accumulation

fund will rise from 21.8 percent according to the five-year plan to 28.7 percent. Expenditures on education, science, public health, and social security will increase at more rapid rates than the national income.

During the plan formation special attention is paid to resource saving, which, essentially, becomes the only source of meeting the growing needs of the national economy. It must be stated openly that the volumes of production and capital construction for 1988 are balanced with material resources only with due regard for the unconditional fulfillment of the set assignments for saving them.

The utilization of secondary resources will have to be expanded by no less than 2.2 percent in order to bring their proportion in the total resource consumption volume up to 12.8 percent.

The outlined measures will make it possible to lower the material intensiveness of the national income by 2.9 percent as compared to the 1985 level.

To attain the goals set, economic managers must introduce the strictest policy of economy everywhere and fundamentally change the attitude toward proposals by scientists and inventors for the application of waste-free technologies. It is necessary to accelerate the transfer of motor transport to gaseous fuel, to maximally load production capacities for the output of local building materials, in particular brick and gravel, and to prevent above-standard stocks of material resources.

#### Social Program for 1988

This plan section was formed with due regard for party requirements—to ensure the priority development of the social sphere and an overall solution of problems connected with an improvement in the living conditions of the Soviet people and a fuller satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs.

Real per-capita income will rise 2.6 percent and from the beginning of the five-year plan, 8.1 percent. The average monthly wages of workers and employees will increase by 2.8 percent and the wages of kolkhoz members, by 7.6 percent, which exceeds the assignments of the five-year plan. Payments and benefits from public consumption funds will total 562 rubles per person.

Measures to stir up labor activity and to bring the amounts of earnings of every worker into conformity with the results of his labor will serve as the basis for this. Deputies of local soviets will give considerable assistance in the solution of these important problems if they establish effective control over the implementation of the next stage in the rise in wage rates and salaries at the expense of funds earned by the enterprise itself.

With due regard for the growth of the population's monetary income, which is more rapid than envisaged by the five-year plan, possibilities have been found to produce in excess of the assignments of the five-year plan consumer goods worth more than 2.5 billion rubles and to additionally provide paid services worth 930 million rubles to the population. The commodity turnover volume of state and cooperative trade has been established with an increase of 3 percent, as compared to the current year's plan, and of 5.8 percent without due regard for the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Of course, the effectiveness of the outlined measures will entirely depend on how every ministry, department, local soviets of people's deputies, and the republic as a whole ensure the fulfillment of assignments for the output of consumer goods and volumes of paid services and retail trade turnover. The UkSSR Ministry of Trade, Ukoopsoyuz, and oblast executive committees must fundamentally change the methods of trade organization, intensify the effect on producers of goods for the population, and strive to increase them, first of all, at the expense of local resources.

A special role in the production of goods is assigned to light industry. In the most important items the enterprises of this sector reach the level envisaged by the overall program for goods and services. Plans have been made to increase, as compared to the current year's plan, the output of all types of fabrics, hosiery, and footwear. The following task has been set: to renew the assortment of goods of the Ministry of Light Industry by more than one-half, to bring the share of ultrafashionable goods up to 35.4 percent, and to attain a radical improvement in the quality and assortment of articles.

Stepped-up work on ensuring a significant increase in the volumes of paid services (15 percent) lies ahead. All enterprises and organizations should be stimulated to actively participate in it and all physical and raw material resources should be utilized.

Soviets of people's deputies should more fully utilize the right granted them—to draw enterprises, associations, and organizations of all ministries and departments (including all-Union ones) into the production of goods, provision of paid services, and formation of local budgets intended for financing the development of the infrastructure and civic improvements of the territory.

Cooperatives and an extensive application of various forms of individual labor activity can and should play a definite role in the solution of the mentioned problems. Territorial management bodies are obligated to promote the establishment on a cooperative basis of public dining enterprises, sports and sanitary complexes, and repair and domestic organizations, at the same time, preventing breaches of existing legislation.

The plan has overcome the so-called "residual principle" of allocation of resources for strengthening the material and technical base of the social and cultural complex. A total of 1 billion rubles of capital investments more than the assignments of the five-year plan are allocated for these purposes.

A total of 4.3 billion rubles are allocated for housing construction, which will make it possible to put into operation 20 million square meters of housing. This is 2.5 million square meters more than envisaged according to the five-year plan. The material and technical base of municipal facilities develops at much more rapid rates in the 1988 plan. Rates of growth of capital investments for municipal needs increase almost three times more rapidly than for housing. However, during the current year the funds for the construction of projects for municipal purposes are utilized extremely poorly by many oblast executive committees. This applies, first of all, to Vinnitsa, Voroshilovgrad, Kiev, Ternopol, and Sumy oblasts.

The system of public education will be developed further. The network of boarding houses for disabled and very old people will expand. The plan envisages measures to improve conditions for keeping orphans and children without parental care in kindergartens and boarding houses. Norms of nutrition and of their provision with clothing, footwear, and minor equipment have been increased. Almost 6 million rubles of state capital investments have been allocated for the construction of children's homes and boarding schools.

The volume of state capital investments for the implementation of measures for the protection and efficient utilization of natural resources will be increased. A number of urgent tasks concerning a reduction in the disposal of polluted sewage into reservoirs and of harmful waste into the atmosphere and the protection of land resources will have to be accomplished. The total volume of funds allocated for these purposes (443.8 million rubles) exceeds the calculations of the five-year plan by one-fourth.

#### Rise in the Technical Level of Production and Development of Economic Sectors

High rates of development of the material production sphere, establishment of a reliable production and technical potential, and a fuller utilization of intensive growth factors as a result of the saving of labor and of physical and raw material resources and a significant improvement in the quality of output are envisaged for a successful fulfillment of the outlined social program. The set of measures for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress occupies a special place. On this basis it is envisaged raising the capital-labor ratio, outfitting enterprises with highly efficient equipment, and increasing its load.

In industry subordinate to the UkSSR Council of Ministers (with due regard for ferrous metallurgy and the coal industry) it is envisaged bringing the coefficient of renewal of fixed productive capital up to 5.8 percent.

The production of 1,080 new types of industrial products will be mastered.

It is planned to expand the scale of application of computer hardware and to further computerize managerial activity.

A total of 317,000 workers will be transferred from manual to mechanized labor.

The utilization of scientific and technological achievements and an expanded scale of application of advanced technologies and mechanization and automation of production processes will make it possible to obtain in industry 5 percent more savings from the reduction in production costs of commodity output than this year.

The procedure of financing sectorial scientific institutions is changing fundamentally. For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of their work, the system of planning and management of these organizations will be transferred to a contractual system with the utilization of competitive conditions, cost accounting, and self-financing.

State acceptance becomes an active link in restructuring. For the purpose of further intensifying work on improving the quality of output, as of 1 January 1988 it is introduced additionally at 148 enterprises in the republic.

The industrial production of the Ukrainian SSR will increase by 4 percent and from the beginning of the five-year plan, by 11.4 percent as envisaged by the 5-year assignment.

The priority development of machine building has been ensured and coal output is planned at the level of assignments of the five-year plan. Electric power generation is estimated at 301.1 billion kwhr, which is more than expected this year. In ferrous metallurgy the growth of output will be ensured through the application of advanced and resource saving technologies without an increase in the output of iron ore and cast iron.

The production of key types of products of the chemical and petrochemical industry is envisaged virtually at the level of 5-year assignments. The output of products from local sources of raw materials and production waste is planned with a growth of 9.6 percent.

Planned assignments for the agro-industrial complex result from the need to ensure the state order for food products, to improve the supply of food products for the republic's population, and to unconditionally fulfill deliveries to the all-Union stock. The increase in output

in the agro-industrial complex should make up 2 percent and labor productivity will rise 3.3 percent. The volume of agricultural production will rise to 51.7 billion rubles, or exceed the 1986 level by 7.5 percent.

In order to more fully meet the need for grain, in accordance with the developed measures its gross output should total no less than 51 million tons. Measures to overcome the stagnation in sugar beet growing are also envisaged. The state of affairs in the production of oil seeds, potatoes, vegetables, and fruits will also improve.

As before, the supply of meat and milk for the population will remain a complex problem. The per-capita consumption of these products grows gradually, but the recommended norms for meat and in a number of oblasts also for milk have not yet been ensured. The production of meat (4.2 million tons in carcass weight) and milk (24.1 million tons) is envisaged in accordance with the five-year plan. This is a stepped-up assignment. However, all the practical conditions for its fulfillment exist. Now, when the new planning procedure has been introduced, more opportunities open up for the manifestation of the initiative and interest of local management bodies in a better supply for the population in oblasts.

There is a difficult situation with the fulfillment of plans for the production, purchases, and deliveries of livestock products, in particular, in Kirovograd, Nikolayev, Odessa, and Zaporozhye oblasts. The reason is virtually the same: A chronic lag in the development of the feed base. According to the calculations of the UkrSSR Gosplan, throughout the republic in 1988 the production of feed will total 108 million tons of feed units, which is 9 percent more than the actual expenditure in 1986 and should ensure the attainment of higher indicators in animal husbandry.

To increase food resources, it is necessary to maximally utilize such sources as the output of subsidiary farms of enterprises, of the population, and of collective horticulture and gardening.

In processing sectors main efforts are directed at improving the quality and expanding the assortment of food products. On the basis of an increase in the volumes of processing of agricultural raw materials and their more efficient utilization the production of sugar is planned in the volume of 5.6 million tons and of vegetable oil, of 1 million tons, which will greatly exceed the indicators attained in recent years.

The further strengthening of the material and technical base of sectors of the agro-industrial complex connected with the processing, storage, and transportation of products is envisaged. State capital investments for their development increase by almost 12 percent as compared to the 1987 plan.

Attention to the solution of social problems in rural areas has also been increased. A total of 1.9 billion rubles are allocated for housing and social construction, or 23.5 percent of all the capital investments in the agro-industrial complex, as compared to 21.8 percent according to the five-year plan.

The republic's Gosagroprom and its local bodies must ensure proper discipline in the fulfillment of planned assignments, more rapidly master economic methods of management, and take measures for an increase in production efficiency and for a fuller return on the vast potential of this sector.

Realization of the planned assignments of 1988 will largely depend on the further development and stable operation of all types of transport and communication. Freight transport, as compared to the current year's plan, will increase by 0.9 percent. The technical level of transport facilities is rising.

The capital construction plan has been developed on the basis of fundamental changes in the structure and priorities of investing and a radical increase in the effectiveness of capital investments. A limit of capital investments amounting to 28 billion rubles from all financing sources has been envisaged for the development of the republic's national economic complex.

During the plan formation special attention has been paid to the development of sectors determining scientific and technical progress and to production facilities for the processing of agricultural products and the output of consumer goods. The structure of capital investments allocated for production construction has been improved. Virtually one-half of them are intended for the retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises. The plan envisages the further concentration of resources and shortening of the periods of construction length.

The approach to the development of the material base of the social sphere has changed fundamentally. More than 5.8 billion rubles are allocated for this purpose, which makes up almost 21 percent of the total volume of capital investments instead of the 17.6 percent envisaged by the five-year plan. This has become possible as a result of the 12 percent reduction in the volumes of industrial construction. The measures taken will make it possible to ensure the overfulfillment during 3 years of the five-year plan of the set assignments for the commissioning of virtually all the projects of this sphere.

The plan reflects the results of expansion of economic independence and the strengthening of the economic activity of enterprises, which make it possible to increase to almost 30 percent the share of capital construction financing from the capital of the development fund. In 1988 the republic's contracting organizations plan to execute construction and installation work worth 13.9 billion rubles, which is 5.8 percent more than this year.

The new approaches to capital construction planning have been realized in practice: Local soviets have formed 56 percent of the program of the UkSSR Ministry of Construction. For the first time in recent years all the social sphere projects have been provided with limits of contract work.

Throughout the republic the fulfillment of the increasing volumes of contract work is to be ensured through the further industrialization of construction, increase in the utilization of existing capacities of house building combines, transfer of construction industry and building materials enterprises to three-shift working conditions, and extensive application of prefabricated structures. The fulfillment of the developed measures and the transfer of construction organizations to the collective contract will make it possible to sharply increase labor productivity and, basically, to do without an additional number of workers.

An expansion of the volumes of work executed by the economic method is a significant potential for increasing construction rates. Proceeding from the assignments of the five-year plan, such a construction method should have annually increased by 5 or 6 percent and been applied mainly in the construction of housing and social sphere projects and in the reconstruction and retooling of existing enterprises. The 1988 plan envisages increasing these volumes of work by 12 percent, mainly in oblasts and rayons where there are no vacant capacities of contracting organizations.

The construction of houses by the individual method is of great importance for the solution of the housing problem. In order to better provide the population with building materials, market allocations for sawn timber, slate, glass, linoleum, radiators, and ceramic tile have been increased by 15 to 20 percent. The sale of brick is to be brought up to 4 billion units, which will make up almost 30 percent of the republic's resources. Unfortunately, individual oblast executive committees (Transcarpathian, Ternopol, Cherkassy, and Chernovtsy) disrupt the delivery of wall materials to the trade network. At the same time, the capacities of enterprises for brick production are utilized 70 to 80 percent.

A prompt conclusion of contracts is an important condition for the preparation of the construction complex for a smooth operation in 1988. Ministries and client departments should manifest maximum effectiveness in the solution of problems connected with the complete provision of construction projects with planning estimates, preparation of sites for projects, and transfer of guarantees for a prompt delivery of equipment to builders.

The assignments set for builders require the activation of the efforts of all participants in the investment process, the strictest observance of standard construction length periods, and a prompt delivery and efficient utilization of allocated resources.

Comrades! The 1988 plan, which can prove to be decisive for the entire five-year plan, contains many fundamentally new tasks, stepped-up assignments, and crucial decisions. They reflect the essence of the critical stage in restructuring and are active means of realizing the concept of acceleration.

The plan takes into consideration the critical remarks by party and public organizations, ministries, departments, and territorial management bodies. The plan was profoundly and thoroughly discussed at a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and with due regard for the corrections made, basically, received an approval.

Permit me to express confidence that our republic's workers, unanimously supporting the party policy of restructuring, affirming the new principles of economic management, and combining in their work initiative with strict discipline and responsibility, will ensure a successful fulfillment of the program for the 3rd year of the five-year plan.

#### Finance Minister Report

18000108 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
14 Nov 87 p 3

[Report by deputy I. A. Zabrodin, UkSSR minister of finance: "On the Ukrainian SSR State Budget for 1988 and on the Fulfillment of the Ukrainian SSR State Budget for 1986"]

[Text] Respected comrade deputies! The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers submits the republic's state draft budget for 1988 approved by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine for your consideration and confirmation.

The formation of the draft budget for next year took place in an atmosphere of the restructuring taking place in the country and the profound renewal of all the aspects of society's life. The work that unfolded on the implementation of the tasks of accelerating social and economic development put forward by the party and on the intensification of the process of society's democratization and the ever more extensive participation of workers in economic management give positive results. During the current year planned assignments for key economic indicators and the republic's budget are fulfilled and basic measures for the development of the sectors of material production and the social sphere are financed promptly.

However, this does not give grounds for complacency. As noted in the report by M. S. Gorbachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the joint grand meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October, a firm basis for an accelerated advance in all directions can be created on the basis of radical changes in the economy.

The Ukrainian SSR state budget for 1988 is developed on the basis of the state draft plan for the republic's economic and social development and provides necessary financial resources for the further development of the national economy and rise in the people's well-being. It takes into consideration the requirements of the fundamentally new financial policy and of the provisions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the transfer next year of a number of sectors to new conditions of management. In income and expenditure the budget is submitted in the amount of 33 billion 355 million rubles, which is 8.4 percent more as compared to the current year under comparable conditions.

The change in the structure of the income of next year's budget is its characteristic feature. Along with the payment for productive capital the payment by enterprises for labor resources and payments by kolkhozes according to stable standards with due regard for the economic evaluation of land and provision with fixed capital are introduced for the first time. Now most of the financial resources are redistributed in favor of enterprises and organizations. A total of 7 billion rubles of profit, including an appropriate part of the trade income, are left at their disposal for self-financing production and social development.

The receipt of the turnover tax is estimated in the amount of 15.4 billion rubles, or 4.6 percent less than this year, which is due to the planned reduction in the production and sale of wine and vodka products. A total of 10 billion rubles will be deducted from this tax amount into the republic's budget.

Taxes and other payments by the population will total more than 3 billion rubles, or 9.3 percent of all the budget income.

Marked qualitative changes also take place in the budget expenditure structure. In contrast to past years the share of the financial resources of enterprises in expenditures on capital investment financing, on an increase in circulating capital, and on some other outlays rises. A significant growth of economic incentive funds is envisaged in the economy subordinate to the UkSSR Council of Ministers. Their amount will exceed 5 billion rubles.

An important place in the budget is assigned to the development of the economy of material production sectors. The large funds allocated for this purpose will make it possible to strengthen their material base and to more fully meet the needs of the national economy and the population for high-quality products and services.

A total of 15.4 billion rubles are allocated from the budget for financing the national economy. All the expenditures of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, including their own resources and bank credits, increase by 5.6 percent.

A total of 3.5 billion rubles from all financing sources are allotted for the development of industry. Considerable appropriations are allocated for an increase in the production of consumer goods and improvement in their quality. For light industry alone more than 1.2 billion rubles, or with an increase of 9.5 percent, are allocated for this purpose.

The allocated monetary resources should, first of all, be assigned for a rise in the technical level of production and improvement in the quality of produced articles, expansion of their assortment, and increase in the output of new goods. At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that in the solution of urgent problems concerning the retooling of a number of enterprises producing consumer goods proper attention is not yet paid to the utilization of bank credits and to the preferential mechanism of liquidating them from the turnover tax.

Profit, as the main source of financial resources of enterprises and organizations of industrial ministries and departments, which is estimated in the amount of 4.6 billion rubles, will increase by 9 percent. More than one-half of the increase in profit will be ensured as a result of a reduction in production costs of products through a more efficient utilization of production capacities, saving of material and fuel-power resources, and decrease in nonproduction expenditures and losses. The existing potentials for the growth of accumulations are indicated by the fact that, owing to the incomplete utilization of production capacities alone, last year the republic, according to the calculations of the UkSSR State Committee for Statistics, failed to receive more than 1 billion rubles of profit.

The number of enterprises transferred to full cost accounting and self-financing will increase next year. Practice confirms that the standard profit distribution method becomes an effective means of affecting production efficiency. At the same time, owing to the insufficient preparation of enterprises for economic management under the new conditions, some of them have not attained a significant improvement in final work results. UkSSR ministries and departments must take decisive measures to ensure the necessary conditions for the transfer of industrial sectors to full cost accounting and self-financing.

Next year the state will assign large funds for the development of the republic's agro-industrial complex and the realization of the Food Program. A total of 20 billion rubles, including more than 3 billion rubles of budget appropriations, from all financing sources will be spent on this. This will make it possible to ensure the necessary material and technical equipment of production, introduction of intensive technologies, and increase in soil fertility. The budget envisages 9 billion rubles of state subsidies for compensating for the difference between purchase and retail prices of agricultural products.

The profit in the economy of the agro-industrial complex will total 5.6 billion rubles with a growth of 9.6 percent as compared to the current year's plan. More than 60 percent of it is left at the disposal of farms and is assigned for their own needs.

Allocating vast funds for the development of the agro-industrial complex, the state has the right to expect from kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and enterprises of the agroprom's processing sectors a considerable increase in the production and improvement in the quality of food products and rise in the efficiency of management. Unfortunately, many farm managers to this day have not yet learned to count people's money and parasitic frames of minds have taken root among some of them. This can explain to a significant degree the situation, in which most sovkhozes and about one-half of the kolkhozes have a low profitability and 5 percent of the farms operate at a loss and live at the expense of bank credits. A total of 1.2 billion rubles have to be allocated from the state budget to such kolkhozes and sovkhozes for financing expenditures on housing and social-cultural construction, for maintaining children's preschool and cultural-educational institutions, and for paying purchase price increases.

Taking into consideration that in 1988-1989 all the enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex will change over to new methods of management, the UkrSSR Gosagroprom and oblast executive committees must carefully prepare for this measure and improve the financial status of farms through an efficient organization of production and labor and an extensive introduction of the collective and family contract.

A total of 9.6 billion rubles, including about 4 billion rubles from the budget, are allotted for financing state capital investments in the economy subordinate to the UkrSSR Council of Ministers.

The transition to full cost accounting and self-financing in construction requires a decisive strengthening of the economy of construction organizations. We cannot put up with a situation in which one-third of the construction organizations and enterprises do not fulfill profit plans. In the UkrSSR Ministry of Construction every sixth trust has a low profitability, or operates at a loss, and in Glavkievgorstroy they make up more than 40 percent. To raise the level of management, ministries and departments, first of all, must strictly observe construction length norms, prevent the dissipation of funds over numerous projects, and ensure a prompt financing of construction projects. The financial and credit mechanism should operate more efficiently in this matter.

A total of 2.7 billion rubles, or 13 percent more than during the current year, are allocated from all financing sources for the development of transport, communication, and road facilities. This creates conditions for a significant improvement in services for the national economy and the population.

The social direction of next year's budget—the outstripping growth of expenditures on the maintenance and further strengthening of the material and technical base of social and cultural institutions—is one of its fundamental characteristics. A total of 17 billion rubles are assigned from the budget for these purposes, including 6.4 billion rubles for education, science, and culture, 3.4 billion rubles for public health, and more than 7 billion rubles for social security.

More than 230 million rubles are additionally allocated for the implementation of measures for the realization of the Basic Directions in the Reform in General Educational and Vocational Schools and for restructuring higher and secondary specialized education. The state manifests special concern for orphans and children left without parental care. A total of 50 million rubles are additionally allocated for an improvement in their education, training, and material security.

Expenditures on improving medical aid and fitting general health institutions with modern equipment increase significantly. A total of 177 million rubles are allocated for a rise in wages for some categories of public health and social security workers, increase in the norms of expenditures on food for patients and the purchase of drugs, dressings, and soft equipment, and a free and preferential allocation of drugs for treatment under outpatient conditions for some population categories. The necessary funds have also been provided for the further expansion of social and domestic assistance for solitary old and disabled people.

UkrSSR ministries and departments and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies must see to it that the funds allocated by the state for the implementation of the party's social policy are spent most efficiently and contribute to an improvement in the living conditions of the Soviet people.

A total of 5.4 billion rubles from all financing sources are allocated for the further development and maintenance of housing and municipal facilities. This will make it possible to build new dwelling houses of a total area of more than 20 million square meters and to improve the housing conditions of 1.6 million people. A total of 969 km of water supply-sewer and 819 km of gas systems will be put into operation and the length of tram and trolley bus lines will increase. Work on civic improvements in cities and settlements and major repairs of the available housing is to be carried out in substantial volumes.

As is well known, from the second half of the current year state and cooperative trade enterprises have been operating under the new conditions of management and have met all their needs from their own funds. A total of 2.3 billion rubles are to be spent on trade development next year, including 50 million rubles on the construction, reconstruction, and good organization of kolkhoz markets.

It should be noted that trade organizations do not yet sufficiently affect industrial enterprises to increase the production of consumer goods and make miscalculations during the preparation of orders for the delivery of goods. The UkSSR Ministry of Trade, Ukoopsoyuz, ministries and departments having a trade network, and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies must ensure a fundamental improvement in trade organization.

A total of 380 million rubles are to be allocated for the development and expansion of domestic services for the population. Their efficient utilization will make it possible to more fully meet the population's needs for services.

A total of 321 million rubles are allocated from the budget for the maintenance of government and state management bodies. In accordance with the decisions of the 27th party congress, the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the July (1987) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine measures for a fundamental restructuring of the organizational structures of sectorial and territorial management are implemented in the republic. This will make it possible to significantly reduce the inflated managerial staff, on whose maintenance more than 6 percent of the national income is now spent in the republic. UkSSR ministries and departments and local soviets of people's deputies must accelerate the restructuring of the activity of management bodies and increase the efficiency of their work.

The UkSSR state budget for 1988 includes local income and expenditure budgets totaling 12.2 billion rubles with an increase of 15.2 percent as compared to this year. Measures mapped out by the party and the government to increase the interest of soviets of people's deputies in raising the efficiency of work of associations, enterprises, and organizations located on their territory have been taken into consideration during the formation of local budgets. Payments by enterprises of Union subordination of 10 ministries transferred to full cost accounting and self-financing have been envisaged in the income of local budgets. Subsequently, a part of the payment for labor and natural resources will also be transferred to them.

The resources envisaged in local budgets ensure a full and prompt financing of all the planned measures. Essentially, the prerequisites for territorial cost accounting, which requires a commensuration of the needs for the development of territories with financial opportunities, are inherent in them.

The report on the fulfillment of the Ukrainian SSR state budget for 1986 is submitted to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for approval.

Comrade deputies! All the republic's ministries and departments, economic bodies, soviets of people's deputies, and labor collectives took part in the development of the draft budget submitted to this session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet for consideration. Deputies of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet examined in detail to what extent it corresponded to the tasks facing the republic during the restructuring period in the planning budgetary and other permanent commissions. The opinion was unequivocal: The draft budget realizes the policy of introduction of a qualitatively new financial mechanism based on the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing. The implementation of measures envisaged in the budget will make it possible to raise the role of finances in the development and strengthening of cost accounting relations in the national economy.

The stability of the financial status of national economic sectors and normal conditions for a successful mobilization of budget resources next year will largely depend on the production and financial results with which UkSSR ministries and departments will end this year.

Taking into consideration the big strain in budget revenues, UkSSR ministries and departments and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies must find in the process of budget fulfillment additional resources and assign them for the financing of planned measures. First of all, it is necessary to attain a situation in which every association, enterprise, and organization would ensure the fulfillment of plans for profit and payments to the budget and efficiently spend the resources placed at their disposal.

However, some UkSSR ministries and departments and oblast executive committees depart from the development of specific measures for the financial improvement of the subordinate economy and try to receive funds from the state budget for these purposes. Such a practice is incompatible with the principles of full cost accounting and with today's requirements and it must be abandoned decisively.

Substantial financial resources are lost in connection with the unprofitable work of many enterprises and the existence of losses due to rejects and nonproduction expenditures. In industry alone in 9 months of the current year 182 enterprises incurred losses totaling 72 million rubles. The biggest number of such enterprises is in the UkSSR Gosagroprom, the UkSSR Ministry of Construction, and the UkSSR Ministry of Local Industry.

The complex financial status in individual sectors is due to the unsatisfactory utilization of fixed and circulating capital. A number of enterprises continue to create above-standard stocks of equipment, raw materials, and supplies, thereby complicating their financial status. On 1 October above-standard stocks of uninstalled equipment in the republic's capital construction totaled 609 million rubles.

The attitude of some economic managers toward problems concerning the preservation of circulating capital evokes serious concern. Their loss amounting to hundreds of millions of rubles annually is permitted in the republic. The funds of well-operating enterprises, budget appropriations, and bank credits are allocated to make up for their shortage. On the basis of last year's work results alone circulating capital worth more than 700 million rubles was lost. Housing of a total area of more than 3 million square meters could have been built from this capital.

The task concerning the financial improvement in the economy is closely connected with the refinement in the structure of public production, its balance, and the state of monetary circulation. To strengthen monetary circulation, UkSSR ministries and departments and oblast executive committee must ensure the observance of planned correlations between the rates of growth of average wages and labor productivity, expand in every possible way the output of consumer goods and the sphere of paid services for the population, and contribute to the development of cooperatives and citizens' individual labor activity.

The accomplishment of the tasks set also requires a more efficient coordination of the work of planning and financial bodies, credit institutions, and sectorial financial and economic services. The success of restructuring the economic mechanism will largely depend on their active work and interaction.

There is no doubt that the republic's workers will actively strengthen restructuring with concrete deeds. This guarantees a successful realization of the plan for economic and social development and next year's budget.

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**UkSSR Supreme Soviet Reviews 1988 Plan**  
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*15 Nov 87 pp 1,2*

[RATAU report on the Sixth Session, Ninth Convocation, of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet: "The Policy of Restructuring and Acceleration"]

[Text] The Sixth Session, Ninth Convocation, of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, as reported earlier, took place on 13 November. Discussing formidable and crucial problems remaining to be resolved in the third year of the Five-Year Plan, the deputies spoke of the determination required of republic workers in order to carry out vigorously and steadfastly party policies with regard to restructuring, renewal of all aspects of social life, democratization, glasnost, and the acceleration of social and economic development in the country. It was emphasized at the session that Ukrainian workers, like all of the Soviet peoples, wholeheartedly endorse the conclusions and directives set forth in the report of the general

secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S., Gorbachev, at the joint session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of Great October. The speeches noted that the republic's draft plan and budget, formulated on the basis of tasks set by the 12th Five-Year Plan, adheres to the course set by the 27th Party Congress for acceleration and to the principles set forth by the January and July (1987) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee for the fundamental restructuring of economic administration.

Deputy V. P. Fokin, chairman of UkSSR Gosplan and deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the UkSSR for 1988 and on progress in fulfilling the plan for 1987.

Deputy I. A. Zabrodin, UkSSR minister of finance, gave a report on the State Budget of the UkSSR for 1988 and on the execution of the budget for the year 1986. Deputy B. Ye. Paton, president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, then took the floor. The drafts of the State Plan and the State Budget for the republic in 1988, he noted in his address, reflect the basic concept for the fundamental restructuring of the economy and the overcoming of negative tendencies; they provide for the mobilization of resources to thoroughly overhaul the various branches of the national economy and to further develop the material well-being of the workers. Economic indicators, state orders and limits, as well as economic norms directed at increasing the receptivity of social production to the achievements of science and technology give reason for satisfaction.

Nevertheless, an in-depth analysis of the plan reveals that many branches of industry and construction continue to have untapped reserves and unused opportunities for speeding up production; for saving materials, energy, and labor; and for increasing the yield of investments and fixed assets, primarily through rehabilitation of enterprises in terms of technology and organization. Bearing in mind that the upcoming year is a crucial one for the Five-Year Plan as a whole, it is essential to exploit these resources to the utmost in the course of its completion. It is for this reason that a new system is being developed for carrying out the republic's scientific programs using the latest technology.

A vital task in this connection, the chairman of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences emphasized, is achieving a marked advance in machine building. Without doing so it is impossible to attain a world level in production quality and technological improvement in all branches of the national economic complex. The time has come at last to bring about the accelerated renewal of fixed assets in industry as well as in other fields, particularly in the field of metallurgy where unfortunately, as has happened before, there is a danger of dissipating a considerable amount of funds earmarked for various projects. It would therefore be advisable for UkSSR Gosplan and

Yuzhmetalluprom to review once again this question and determine the best means for reequipping this branch. All limitations on the use of high-quality steel must be removed. Only in this way can the output of domestic machine building make any claim to compare with that achieved elsewhere in the world in terms of specific metal content, reliability, and durability.

The republic has the means to resolve this problem. The scientific and technical base has been developed to produce quality steel, particularly heat-resistant steel. There are also several other research projects which, if broadly utilized, could give an added impetus to the development of machine building. One might suppose that Gosplan would plan to make use of these innovations as soon as possible. It is in the interest of speeding up technical and scientific progress that it be done.

A major part of the speech was devoted to questions arising in connection with improving the food supply. In particular, the speaker pointed out a marked disparity between the scale of agricultural production and the ability to collect it and get it to the consumer. Obviously, a priority in planning and financing should be given to measures for the preservation and efficient use of food that has already been produced. Researchers have proposed a number of schemes that would make it possible to reduce many times over losses in various stages of the transport process as well as the preservation and processing of all that is grown in the fields and on the farms. Many of them, however, including advanced technological processes that have already gone through testing and been approved for large-scale introduction, are by no means being fully utilized.

The deputy underscored the increasing urgency of taking into consideration the ecological aspect in planning for the republic's economic development. He pointed to the pressing necessity of more widely making use of ecologically pure, resource-saving technological and production processes, primarily of the so-called science-intensive type. He directed attention to the need for our plans to reflect the utmost care in determining the locations of new industrial plants and in providing reliable assurances of their safe operation.

Deputy V. A. Sologub, chairman of the UkrSSR Council of Trade Unions, noted in his address that trade union organs and labor collectives are participating directly in the preparation and discussion of the draft plan for 1988. The most important proposals have been made to Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, and other republic departments and ministries.

The workers, he said, welcome with satisfaction the fact that high goals as compared with those of the Five-Year Plan are being set for the development of the social sphere—for the construction of housing, pre-school facilities, and hospitals, and for consumer goods production

and the development of social services. At the same time the workers understand that the successful fulfillment of the goals set is possible only through radical transformations of the economy.

The USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) should exert a profound influence on the development of the economy. The trade unions are striving to have the labor collectives make full use of the mandate given them under the law and to implement reserves consistently. Meanwhile, the draft plans of many enterprises fail, as they have failed in the past, to provide a balance between the scale of work done with available resources and a regular system of deliveries. This leads to frequent periods of idleness and rush work, which have a demoralizing effect on the workers' collectives. USSR Gossnab and the ministries and departments have not so far achieved a fundamental improvement in the system of material and technical supply.

The situation is particularly intolerable when this irregularity in production has been previously incorporated in the plan. For example, the plan provides for only 12.5 percent of housing and only 1.2 percent of the pre-school facilities for children to be made available in the first quarter of the coming year. More than half of the schools to be constructed in Chernovtsy Oblast are scheduled to be placed in operation after the commencement of the school year. In Sumy Oblast in the same period they are planning to make available almost 50 percent. We are justified, the deputy said, in demanding that the ministries, departments, and ispolkoms review such a plan so as to assure an even distribution of available buildings for housing and for other social and domestic projects throughout the course of the year.

Greater effort is called for, including on the part of the trade unions, in converting the enterprises to the multi-shift system of operation. Specific experience is already available at more than 500 republic enterprises. Meanwhile, this most important of reserves has still not been put into effect everywhere. In Donetsk, Odessa, and Zhitomir oblasts, for example, 20 to 37 percent of installed equipment is still not being used in production. Even at enterprises that have reportedly switched to the multi-shift system a major part of the costly, high-productivity equipment continues to remain in operation only for one shift, and even at that not with a full workload. Nevertheless the ministries and departments continue to propose the construction of new and the expansion of existing production facilities. Obviously, the Council of Ministers and Gosplan should reconsider the basis for such proposals.

An innovative and businesslike approach is required of the work going on at the enterprises to introduce the new conditions of labor payment. Wherever the approach made has been other than formal, the changes have achieved a perceptibly productive as well as social effect. However, a study carried out by the UkrSSR Council of Trade Unions and the UkrSSR State Committee for

Labor has demonstrated that serious shortcomings persist in this activity at many of the enterprises. Urgent measures to remedy the situation should be taken by soviet and management organs. It is essential also to alter the approach taken to resolving problems pertaining to the improvement of labor conditions, safety, and the development of a suitable form of productive daily life.

In order to assure the plan's fulfillment for the current year and develop a good backlog of work for the coming year, the speaker emphasized, it is of great importance to encourage creative activity on the part of the labor collectives. It is essential to exploit the labor surge marking the competition in honor of the 70th Anniversary of Great October. The initiative of many work brigades and front-rank workers in Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Ternopol, and Vinnitsa oblasts and in the city of Kiev who have assumed obligations to fulfill the tasks for the first three years of the Five-Year Plan by the opening day of the 19th All-Union Party Conference is worthy of unqualified support. Their initiative is endorsed by the party obkoms and by the UkSSR Council of Trade Unions presidium. Each labor collective should assume strenuous socialist obligations for 1988.

Deputy V. G. Malomuzh, chairman of the Budget Planning Commission, delivered a supplementary report on the work of the Budget Planning Commission and other permanent commissions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. The addresses of the deputies then continued.

Deputy Yu. P. Babich, chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk oblispolkom, stated that the results of the socialist competition in honor of the Anniversary of Great October confirm the fact that the workers of the Ukraine are filled with determination to increase their contribution to the economic and social development of our country. The enterprises of Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, for example, have already overfulfilled the plan for the production of pig iron, rolled metal, tires, coke, iron and manganese ores, coal, and other vital industrial products. In sales to the state the plan was overfulfilled for grain, sunflowers, potatoes, vegetables, and melon crops. Moreover, there was a good backlog of work done in fulfilling the plan for deliveries of all kinds of livestock production.

Nevertheless, many reserves are not being utilized. Not all of the enterprises are meeting their contractual and planned obligations, including some of those operating with full cost accounting and self-financing. Certain collectives are not demonstrating the care that they should in saving resources, in increasing production of consumer goods, and in developing the service sphere.

The deputy referred to problems of not using raw materials fully and thoroughly and of protecting natural resources. He cited, in particular, the fact that in the oblast for the past seven years about 150 million rubles' worth of poisonous chemicals had been deposited in the soil. Yet these expenditures were not giving the additional yield expected and they were doing harm to the

environment. He expressed the opinion that the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, the southern division of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin, the Ministry of Health, and the republic's State Agricultural Committee should jointly study the problem of adding chemicals to the soil and propose effective organic means and other ecologically pure technologies that will make possible bumper harvests without posing a threat to human health.

Deputy Yu. A. Kolomiyets, first deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the UkSSR State Agricultural Committee, in summing up the work of the republic's agro-industrial complex, said that only the first step has been taken towards fulfillment of the Food Program in the republic. Agro-industrial organs still have not learned how to provide fully for the development of all branches in proper proportions. Plan targets for the production and delivery of sugar beets have not been achieved, and a number of farms in the south have not obtained the stipulated wholesale grain yields. In Kirovograd, Nikolayev, and Odessa oblasts the productivity of livestock and domestic fowl has declined as compared with the previous year; this in turn has led to a decline in the production of milk and meat.

In the field of agro-industry, with respect to obligations for deliveries, one out of every six enterprises and associations has failed to meet production targets for the first 10 months of the plan. In the work of the agro-industrial committees and the rayon agro-industrial associations bureaucratic methods of administration have yet to be overcome and regimentation of the activities of farms and enterprises frequently continues to be permitted.

In the coming year gross output of the APK should grow by 4.6 percent. It is essential to do our duty in completing deliveries in a number of categories of agricultural products. Principal attention will be devoted to increasing the wholesale yield of grain and sugar beets. It is anticipated that the indicators set by the plan will be met by the broad application of the achievements of science and technology and the leading experience. Much remains to be done with respect to the science of agriculture. Collective and family contracts, leases, and other forms of contractual arrangements must everywhere be introduced. A radical restructuring of economic activity is required. As early as in the coming year kolkhozes, sovkhozes, industrial enterprises, and organizations in Chernovtsi and Ivano-Frankovsk oblasts—and by 1989 the entire agro-industrial complex in the republic—should be operating on the basis of cost-accounting and self-financing. Increased attention must be given to private subsidiary farming.

There must be a substantial turn for the better in strengthening the base of the processing and preservation of agricultural produce. For this purpose funds amounting to 12 percent more than in the previous year are being allocated for capital investments.

Deputy M. M. Kushnerenko, first secretary of the Kherson obkom, discussed in his address the role of the soviets of people's deputies under the new conditions of management. He noted that the fundamental tenets of the USSR Law of State Enterprises (Associations)—self-direction, selection of management officials, a functional relationship between material rewards and the quality of work, and self-financing—have already been instituted. Wherever these matters are being dealt with in the complex, the results are satisfactory. Twenty-seven percent of the enterprises, which together produce half of the industrial production in Kherson Oblast, will make the transition to self-financing in the coming year. Courses in cost-accounting, which will be taken by management leaders and specialists, are now being organized to raise the level of knowledge about economics.

For the oblast agro-industry, the speaker pointed out, the problem of labor resources remains acute. Work is going on to provide public services in settled areas and to improve labor and living conditions, which is of great importance in trying to keep young people on the farms. Leasing contracts are being introduced. In Chernovtsy Oblast farms are consolidating lands on which young people work until harvest time through labor contracts.

The oblast is experiencing difficulty with its water supply system. This problem, the deputy noted, requires special attention on the part of the government, particularly the State Agricultural Committee and the republic Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. A stricter accounting of resources assimilated and the timely introduction of water supply systems is needed.

"When the USSR Law of State Enterprises (Associations) becomes effective," said Deputy G. M. Grendovich, an installer with the Lvov Kineskop Association, "It will be an important occasion for us, the workers. The provisions concerning conversion by the enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing and material reward commensurate with the quality of work are especially valuable. Recently, our enterprise has been rightly under criticism for turning out television equipment of poor quality. Our association also had a high percentage of complaints at the start of the Five-Year Plan, but now the situation is improving. Of all products subject to certification, the proportion in the category of highest quality is 81 percent."

The deputy went on to speak with concern of the fact that it is not economically justified under current conditions for a collective to produce new products of better quality inasmuch as improvement of technology increases expenditures for production, whereas the ministries provide incentives only for their reduction. Even the State Committee on Prices takes this position. Production quality often goes down because enterprise subcontractors, who are still not subject to state acceptance procedures, supply quantities of low-grade materials.

The question of maintenance and upkeep is a critical one for Lvov, the worker noted, since more than half of the housing in the city is many years old. The work going on of this kind is insufficient. Construction repair organizations are provided with only 20 percent of many of the materials needed. The position taken by Gosplan and the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services is surprising. They care little about improving the supply of materials for the construction repair organizations.

Deputy A. T. Shevchenko, minister of the construction materials industry, noted that notwithstanding certain shifts for the better in this field, the technical re-equipping of industry was still proceeding slowly. His ministry had been subjected to serious criticism for failure to produce local building materials at the July (1987) plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and at a meeting of the Budget Planning Commission together with other permanent commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In his address the minister spoke of measures being taken to remedy the situation. Preparations, he said, are now under way to build a plant for producing ceramic wall materials using a radically new technique. At the same time additional production lines are contemplated for manufacturing building bricks and products made of cellular concrete, which by the end of the Five-Year Plan will exceed the prescribed amount by more than 400 million bricks annually. The plan is to increase production of the highest quality both for capital construction and for sale to the population. Starting next year, for example, facing bricks will increase in production volume on a scale that will virtually eliminate ceramic plates for the facades of buildings.

The difficult problems confronting the sector during the current Five-Year Plan can only be resolved through the broad application of resource-saving technology. Specifically, plans are under way to make further use of ash clinkers and waste products of the coal industry. Many reserves can be realized if action is taken in cooperation with the construction ministries, but the proper support is still lacking on their part.

Deputy V. G. Ignatov, first secretary of the Donetsk party gorkom, in his address dealt with a number of critical problems confronting this major industrial city. One of them, the housing problem, because of its acute nature and the difficulty of resolving it, ranks first in the daily activities of the local soviets. Efforts are now being made to increase the volume of housing construction. The rebuilding of the existing base for housing construction has been completed. A new housing construction combine is being assembled. Construction operations using enterprise resources are being built up. All these efforts will result in doubling the volume of housing construction by the start of the 13th Five-Year Plan.

At the same time the condition of existing housing is a cause for considerable concern. Approximately 3 million square meters of housing in Kiev are in need of immediate repair. Local soviet organs are doing a good deal to retard the process of obsolescence, enlisting the resources of the industrial enterprises and forming social repair crews to restore the houses intact. Meanwhile, the ministries and departments, who retain custodial control over a third of the housing, have left the volume of housing repair work at about the level of previous years.

It is necessary to consider further the question of achieving a proper balance of resources allotted to meet the needs of municipal housing and utilities, residential housing, and social and cultural projects. V. Z. Borisovskiy, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, and A. T. Shevchenko, minister of the UkSSR construction materials industry, should take immediate precautions to provide for production of more than enough construction materials under the present Five-Year Plan. Deputy Ye. N. Parubok, foreman of a mechanized crew at the kolkhoz imeni Suvorov in Zhashkovskiy Rayon, Cherkassy Oblast, and twice-named Hero of Socialist Labor, described the initial steps taken by the kolkhoz to restructure production management. The use of a progressive type of the organization of labor was introduced here while converting to a sectional structure of production and the collective contract, which was closely bound up with intra-farm accounting through a checkbook type of control and disbursement of expenditures. The earnings of all kolkhoz members now depend directly on the final result. Discipline has been strengthened and the people now study, calculate, and search for reserves in a businesslike way. Throughout the sections a struggle now goes on to save materials and resources and to prolong the useful life of equipment.

"For a quarter of a century," said the mechanization specialist, "I have been in charge of the sugar-beet crew. During the last Five-Year Plan we averaged 510 quintals per hectare. On our own fields we introduced new technology and tested types of modern equipment. Unfortunately, the quality of it is not satisfactory to machine operators. The machines made available by the Odessapochbomash Production Association and the Altayselmarsh Plant cannot be delivered to the field without on-site modifications. With each passing year they are becoming more expensive and heavier; they are ruining the soil structure and lessening its productivity. The machine-builders are forgetful of the fact that the earth is a living, organic thing—it is delicate and vulnerable—and it is our sacred duty to preserve it."

The deputy focused upon crucial social issues for his village. The kolkhoz members, he said, lack the desire to build housing themselves since prices for building materials are extremely high. Providing materials for village construction at preferential prices may be worth considering. Gas supply installation is proceeding slowly. Although two main gas lines cross the oblast, hooking up to them is very difficult.

"In preparing for the changeover to the new forms of management, full cost accounting and self-financing," stated Deputy L. L. Nikiferov, general director of the Kiev Production Association imeni S. P. Korolev, "we have accomplished a good deal of work in the technical re-equipping of the production system and making it ready to operate. Profit is now the bottom line of enterprise activity. Economic incentive funds have been set according to standards that are stable for the period of the Five-Year Plan. A high rate of production growth has already been set this year. The fundamental reliance is upon turning out brand new products on a par with the best domestic and foreign models.

"Unfortunately, for the time being, conditions are lacking for stable operations by the collective. Funds have not yet been allocated to the enterprise that would make it possible to produce products in complete sets. There is no way to bring the allotment of material resources into balance with the production plan."

The efforts of the enterprises to establish full cost accounting, the speaker declared, are hampered by the ministries and departments, which continue to be governed by instructions at variance with the new methods of management. The ministries ought to refrain from the practice of detailed supervision, but they persist in trying to restrict the rights of the enterprises in the financing of capital investments.

The deputy cited the responsibility of the soviets of peoples deputies for speeding up the social and economic development of the city and outlying area. For the present, he said, they are not making full use of their authority. In Kiev's Zhevnevyy Rayon, for example, by no means all of the enterprises are as concerned as they should be with producing consumer goods; they are doing little construction with their own resources; and the entire construction program is not provided for in terms of territorial sections.

Deputy V. A. Boychuk, chairman of the Ivano-Frankovsk ispolkom, said that consideration was being given to questions concerning the further development of the oblast in the draft plan for the economic and social development in 1988. A number of the branches and the agro-industrial complex as a whole were converting to full cost accounting and self-financing, commencing on 1 January, 1988. Despite concrete accomplishments in the economy of the oblast, he said, there were problems yet to be solved. Industries were not fulfilling delivery orders, production quality was improving only slowly, and not all the enterprises had geared their operations to state acceptance procedures.

Speaking of the organizational activities of the local soviets, the speaker emphasized that they were in accordance with the resolution of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo on the work of the Ivano-Frankovsk obkom to carry out the directives of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenum with

respect to the expansion of intra-party democracy, glasnost, and development of criticism and self-criticism. To raise the level of responsibility among executives and staff members of the ispolkoms, departments, and administrations of the oblast, they had been subjected to a process of certification as a result of which a number in the cadres had been replaced. Every other leader was selected following the nominations of two or more candidates.

The deputy made a number of proposals pertaining to the care of livestock in the private sector and increasing the production of feed. He noted that oblast farm workers had serious grievances against republic and union agencies. Specifically, the material and technical support system for the building industry was still weak, and the long-standing facilities of the agro-industrial complex were operating at only 30-40 percent of capacity. Several associations—Kolomyiacelmash, Khlorvinil, and Karpatpressmash, among others—were producing a scanty amount of consumer goods, he said, and industry leaders were assuming the posture of detached observers.

Deputy V. K. Simonenko, chairman of the Odessa gospolkom, stated that the plan and budget for the coming year clearly set forth the party line assigning a priority to social problems of vital concern to each individual. "Many of the problems in our city," he said, "we try to deal with locally. But it is not easy to do so under the existing system of budget planning. A large part of the funds are allotted to newly established projects in the fields of medicine, education, and municipal services. Meanwhile, there is an acute shortage of funds for the engineering and technical support system. What is more, with the conversion to the new forms of management, the enterprises have reduced the amount of their own contribution. Standards must be worked out for expenditures on the maintenance, operation, and repair of housing, roads, landscaped areas, and other municipal services. Gosstroy and the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services should expedite the process of attending to this matter."

"The time has come to establish the income side of the budget scientifically, taking into consideration the specific character of each city. It is necessary to make the daily activity of the enterprises and organizations compatible with the interests of the city; it should become, in effect, a territorial accounting unit. It seems to me that the UkSSR minister of finance (I. A. Zabrodin) should consider this matter."

"Odessa has been developing recently as a powerful industrial center," the deputy continued. "But its unique geographical position and natural climatic conditions have been overlooked. A continuous process of development of chemical, machine-building and other industries has taken place. As a result there has been a persistent

tendency for capital construction to grow in volume while the social sphere develops only slowly. The planning organs should adopt a more balanced policy in this respect."

Deputy A. A. Ruzhitskiy, second secretary of the Khmelnitskiy party obkom, stated that although over a 10-month period the plan for production had been exceeded by 20 million rubles, the present state of affairs in industry cannot but be a cause for concern. Many enterprises are operating at an irregular pace and cannot comply with their contractual obligations. The oblast's contribution to the fulfillment of the Food Program should be more substantial. A variety of indicators which permitted major losses because of a lack of organization in agricultural production have not yet been eliminated. The periods of agricultural work are being prolonged. An absence of initiative as well as a lack of understanding on the part of some managers as to how to apply the new methods of administration are having an adverse effect.

The problem of providing up-to-date, high-efficiency equipment for the food and food-processing industries is critical. In part it can be resolved with the cooperation of the industries. The republic government should review this question, he said.

The deputy went on to say that certain departments are assigning their enterprises unrealistic tasks. For example, according to plan, the Khmelnitskiy Beet Agro-Industrial Association was to produce 56 million rubles' worth of a hypothetical amount of production despite the fact that the kind of product and materials it is to be made from are not yet known. The volume of work for the Khmelnitskiy Construction Trust is to be increased by 28 percent next year, but it is necessary to carry out this task using the same material and technical base.

Deputy N. A. Gerbeda, a painter-plasterer with the Zhitomir House Construction Combine, addressed critical issues in housing construction. In the 11 years of its existence, she said, this combine has built about 22,000 apartments or 60 percent of those made available in the oblast center. Yet the housing problem remains acute. The collective is building up housing capacity through rehabilitation. The first phase of renovating a plant for large-panel housing construction has already been completed. But the disruption of new facilities being put in operation is threatened by delay on the part of the UkSSR Ministry of Construction in setting time limits for carrying out design research work.

The speaker cited the superiority of the economic methods of management. The builders, she said, are introducing the collective contract and converting to full cost accounting. Notable results are being obtained in those brigades where they are engaged in the study of economics and related skills are being assimilated. Unfortunately, the construction of projects in batches often gives rise to rush work and undermines the very basis of cost accounting and the collective contract. Another question

worries the builders: State inspection procedures will be in effect at the combine commencing with the new year, but enterprises that manufacture non-standard equipment and metal fittings will continue to operate in the old manner.

Deputy V. A. Shevchenko, chairman of the Sumy Oblast ispolkom, declared that local soviets in the oblast is still not making full use of the authority and potential provided them for the comprehensive resolution of social and economic tasks. The restructuring of their operations is going badly. The attention of the oblast soviet executive committee has been directed to this problem at a meeting of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The housing problem is crucial for the soviets. To introduce 600,000 square meters of housing annually will require strengthening the basis of the building industry. The oblast executive committee has worked out a series of measures designed to increase production of precast reinforced concrete and local building materials; it has also coordinated with the ministries to obtain the resources for these purposes. The UkrSSR Ministry of Construction (B. P. Salo, minister) should assist the oblast in building up the volume of industrial housing construction. Allocating material resources for the timely repair of buildings in use is of no less importance.

The restructuring of economic management and the conversion of the enterprises to cost accounting and self-financing, the deputy stated, requires new approaches on the part of the local soviets to developing the social sphere. They must take upon themselves the entire responsibility for the integrated development of cities and rayons, and they must work diligently and persistently to resolve problems with respect to expanding proper participation by the enterprises and associations.

The UkrSSR Supreme Soviet passed the Law on the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Ukrainian SSR in 1988. It also adopted a decree on the progress made towards fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Ukrainian SSR in 1987.

The Law on the Ukrainian SSR State Budget for 1988 was passed together with a decree ratifying a report of the execution of the UkrSSR budget in 1986.

Deputy Yu. G. Bakhtin, deputy chairman of the UkrSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, reported on progress made to implement organizational measures of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in compliance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party. A decree on this subject was adopted.

Deputy N. G. Khomenko, secretary of the UkrSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, gave a report pertaining to the ratification of ukases of the UkrSSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium issued during the period between sessions. The Supreme Soviet then passed laws and adopted decrees in ratification of the ukases of the UkrSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

12889

**BSSR CP CC Buro Discusses 1988 Plan**

*18000082a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 87 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] The Buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia at a routine meeting examined and in principle approved drafts of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the Belorussian SSR and the BSSR State Budget for 1988, which were proposed by the republic's government. The BSSR Council of Ministers has been assigned the task of introducing the drafts of the plan and budget for examination at the upcoming session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

During the discussion of the plan it was stated that its successful fulfillment would depend greatly on the end results for this year. The Belorussian Central Committee Buro has obliged the republic's ministries and departments and the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies to thoroughly analyze the work results for the completed period of the year, to take the necessary measures to eliminate lags that have been tolerated by individual branches, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to achieve the unconditional fulfillment of the quotas for the fourth quarter and for 1987 in general. Special attention has been given to the timely and quality preparation of the national economy for work under conditions of complete cost accounting and self-financing.

It has been proposed that BSSR Gosagroprom and oblispolkoms carry out work more actively to increase production, to accelerate the development of the processing industry, to fulfill the tasks of the Food Program, and to improve food supplies to the population.

Party committees and organizations have been assigned the task of establishing constant controls over the course of implementation of the Program of Socio-Economic Development in each labor collective and to strengthen demandingness towards cadres at all levels as regards adhering to plan and contractual discipline. At the meeting of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro a report was heard on the work of the primary party organization of the BSSR State Russian Dramatic Theater imeni M. Gorkiy regarding the restructuring of creative activities of the collective in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

It has been noted that the theater's party organization exhibits constant concern for a favorable creative and moral climate within the collective, for expanding the ideological-political world view, for increasing professional mastery and public activeness of creative workers.

At the same time the party buro, leadership and the theater's artistic council have not yet achieved serious changes in the quality of the repertoire. Work with authors regarding the development of new plays, especially on contemporary themes, is being done poorly. Questions of filling the troupe with professionally-trained directors and actors are being dealt with slowly.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has obliged the party organization and theater administration to implement measures on further improving the ideological-political education of cadres, on increasing their professional skills and on strengthening and developing ties with labor collectives, warriors of the Soviet Army, students and pupils. It has been recommended that in its work the party buro more fully consider public opinion and the proposals and observations of communists, and that it develop criticism and self-criticism within the collective as well as better control over the fulfillment of the decisions that are being made.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has discussed the question relating to the tasks of the republic's party committees on the implementation of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Restructuring the Systems of Political and Economic Education for Workers." A plan of measures on organizational, ideological-theoretical, scientific-methodological and informational provisions of political education and economic universal education of the republic's population in the light of new requirements has been approved.

Several other questions of party work and of the economic and social development of the republic were discussed at the meeting of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro.

8228

#### BSSR CP CC Buro on Zhlobin Gorkom, Other Issues

18000082b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 p1

[Unattributed report: "In the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At a meeting on 11 November the Buro of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee examined the question relating to the work of the Zhlobin gorkom of the Belorussian CP as concerns the fulfillment of party decisions on strengthening the struggle with the embezzlement of socialist property. It was noted that the Belorussian CP gorkom (first secretary —

A. A. Zaytsev) is restructuring its work extremely unsatisfactorily in this direction and that it does not analyze the status of the preservation of socialist property or the reasons for negative manifestations.

In a number of party organizations among some of the communist managers formalism in work has not yet been eliminated and executive discipline is low. Control over the fulfillment of the decisions that were passed has been poorly organized. Requirements of the party and government about the fact that the directors of associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations bear a personal responsibility for the preservation of socialist property are being implemented unsatisfactorily. Many party organizations do not carry out an aggressive war against wastefulness and plunderers of the public good, and maintain a position of detached observer in them.

Gross errors are being tolerated in the selection of cadres for management and economically-responsible positions, as is a lack of control over their work. The activeness of ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies, of trade union and komsomol organizations and of legal organs have been weak in rooting out embezzlement and violations of Soviet law. The power of the influence of labor collectives, the public, criticism, self-criticism and glasnost is being utilized poorly for these purposes.

Significant losses of physical and financial assets have been tolerated due to their uneconomic expenditure, mismanagement and the manufacture of poor-quality products. The amount of embezzlement and petty thievery is not decreasing.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee required that the party gorkom implement specific measures to decisively restructure work with the goal of strengthening state and labor discipline and the responsibility of cadres for the preservation of socialist property in all branches of the national economy and in the service sphere. The attention of party and soviet organs and economic managers has been turned to the necessity to bring strict order to account-keeping, maintenance and expenditure of monetary and material resources.

The Belorussian CB Central Committee Buro examined questions that touch on the implementation of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee concerning holding plenums of party committees and meetings of communists to discuss the reports of elective organs on the work to manage restructuring.

Approved at the meeting of the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee was the initiative of the Mogilev party obkom and oblispolkom regarding increasing the volume of housing construction in rural areas on the basis of developing additional capacities for the production of building materials using the capital and resources of oblast enterprises and organizations. It has been recommended to Belorussian CP gorkoms, oblispolkoms and BSSR ministries and departments to support and

develop in every way possible the initiative of the Mogilev people, to elaborate and implement a concrete program of extensive and effective use of production capacities and economic and financial assets of enterprises and organizations to increase the output of building materials, the technical reequipping of plants producing these materials and the manufacture of the means of mechanization for building operations, which will facilitate growth in the volume of construction of housing and of other objects that are earmarked for social purposes.

The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee has passed a resolution about the development in the republic of capacities for the production of feed yeast and other microbiological products for the needs of livestock raising. It noted that the BSSR Ministry of Construction (S. V. Bril) and the Belorussian Rural Construction Association (L. M. Chura) have tolerated significant underfulfillment of building-installation work related to the construction of enterprises for the given branch. The scientific-production association Belbiotekhnologiya (V. R. Vaaks) is unsatisfactorily carrying out work to develop the microbiological industry within the republic.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has demanded from the directors of the aforementioned ministries and organizations the unconditional fulfillment of plan tasks related to the introduction into operation of production capacities in a complex with objects earmarked for social-general consumer service purposes. Belorussian CP obkoms have been given the assignment of establishing strict controls over the timely and quality implementation of this work.

At the meeting decisions on several other questions of party work and economic and socio-cultural development were examined and passed.

8228

#### Moldavian CP CC Buro Views Food Supply

##### Situation

18000093 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Moldavian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regularly scheduled session the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of adopting urgent measures with regard to speeding up the solution of the food problem in accordance with the positions taken by the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

It was noted that the work being carried out in line with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the May (1982) and April (1985) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Sixth Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee on adopting and assimilating the

new economic management mechanism, intensive technologies, and new forms of organization and wages have had a positive effect on increasing labor collectives' motivation to achieve end results; it has also facilitated an increase in the yield of invested funds.

During the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan the average annual increase in the gross volume of agricultural output amounted to 288 million rubles, whereas in 1986, as compared to 1985, it increased by 10.1 percent. Regarding a number of extremely important food items, the production level set by the Food Program was achieved. The number of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and inter-farm enterprises operating at a loss declined from 143 in 1985 to 71 in 1986. During the current year the 10-month assignments regarding sales to the state of all types of livestock products have been over-fulfilled.

Nevertheless, the existing possibilities for supplementing food resources in order to radically improve deliveries of nutritional products to the population are not being fully utilized.

The Central Committee Buro has entrusted party gorkoms and raykoms, gorayisplokoms, economic management organs, trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations with the task of developing and implementing additional measures to ensure further substantial improvement in food supply within every rayon and city. Guided by the Leninist ideas on cooperation, they must move forward more boldly to new management forms and methods; in order to do this, they must decisively eliminate all obstacles and limitations which delay increasing agricultural production on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises, as well as in the private sector.

This republic's Gosplan, Gosagroprom, ministries, and departments have been assigned the following task: in order to strengthen the influence of economic management methods on the growth rate of agricultural production, they must carry out during the years 1988-1989 the conversion of all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, as well as other enterprises and organizations of the agroindustrial complex to full cost accounting and self-financing. Payment of wages to all participants in production, including managers and specialists, should be made directly dependent upon gross income, and use ought likewise to be made of other economical forms of stimulating production. We must increase the proportion of payments-in-kind to agricultural employees, rigorously linking the amounts of paying them with end results.

The Central Committee Buro demanded that party committees, soviet, and economic management organs complete in 1988 the conversion of all subdivisions to the contractual forms of labor organization. Moreover, the maximum consideration should be given to all the manifold conditions in selecting the contractual forms and methods; we must decisively eliminate formalism, inertia, and stereotypes in this important matter. We must

provide all supportive measures to those production collectives which lease the means of production for a lengthy period of time (10-15 years) and which behave like genuine masters on the land.

The Central Committee Buro particularly emphasized that party organs in the localities should impart a political thrust to all work on increasing food production, unceasingly monitor this work, utilize all forms of influence, and ensure the unconditional carrying out of all the responsible tasks assigned by the CPSU Central Committee.

Likewise discussed was the question of the organizational work done by the board and party organization of the Moldavian Consumers' Union apparatus with regard to carrying out the decree of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, entitled "On Measures to Further Develop the Moldavian SSR's Consumer Cooperatives in the Light of the Decisions Made by the 27th CPSU Congress."

It was noted that during the year and a half which has elapsed since the adoption of the above-mentioned document the cooperative system has witnessed growth in goods turnover, consumer-goods output, and sales of agricultural products at contractual prices. Large amounts of money have been channeled into developing the sector's material-technical base. Trade enterprises with an area of more than 20,000 square meters have been put into operation.

However, far from everything has been done that was provided for developing retail-goods turnover and especially for increasing the procurement and processing of agricultural products. The network of second-hand stores for selling non-food items has not been expanded. Rural laborers are still experiencing interruptions in getting the basic necessities. The quality of food products processed at cooperative enterprises remains poor. There have been no changes for the better in providing for the preservation of socialist property, observing trade regulations, or eliminating abuses and other negative phenomena.

Far from everything is being done to improve the state of affairs in the sector by certain members of the board, managers, and specialists in the subdivisions of the apparatus who have taken a wait-and-see attitude and who do not always assume responsibility for solving the problems within their jurisdiction. There are also serious shortcomings in the operating methods of Comrade K.A. Melnik, the board chairman. His actions exhibit a predominance of the arbitrary-command, administrative style, a refusal to hear appeals, and a categorical quality in his opinions. The party buro (whose secretary is Comrade F.D. Prodan) has been weak in monitoring the apparatus's activity with regard to carrying out the directives of the party and the government on improving employee activity and improving trade services to the population.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro demanded that the Moldavian Consumers' Union Board (Comrade K.A. Melnik, chairman) and the party buro apparatus (F.D. Prodan, secretary) radically change its work style and methods, channel the efforts of the cooperative organizations' and enterprises' employees into practical implementation of the decisions made by the 27th party congress, the January and June plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the positions and lines taken by M.S. Gorbachev, as set forth in his report at the ceremonial session marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We must carry out an in-depth restructuring of the economic management mechanism, create a flexible and effective system of administration, ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and assignments set for the current five-year plan with regard to developing goods turnover, procuring and processing agricultural products, along with further expanding and strengthening the material-technical base. We must significantly improve the trade services to agricultural laborers at their places of employment, particularly livestock-raisers and machinery-operators, exhibit concern for them, and thereby create the conditions for highly productive labor, have utilized for this purpose the potentials which the consumer cooperatives have at their disposal. We must upgrade the standards required of the central apparatus personnel, the managers of the rayon-level consumers' unions, and their responsibility for instituting the necessary order and organizational quality in the work, as well as the strict observance of state and plan discipline, for eradicating mismanagement, squandering, thefts, and other negative phenomena.

We must adopt measures aimed at activating the operation of kolkhoz markets, increase the amount of products brought to them, and render more help in setting up cooperatives.

It was proposed that party gorkoms and raykoms intensify the party's influence on the state of affairs in consumer cooperatives, show constant concern for strengthening their personnel, render more practical assistance to primary party organizations in carrying out the directives of the party and the government re improving trade services to the population. We must steadily increase the responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies' ispolkoms for solving the problems of comprehensively developing consumer cooperatives, regularizing their work schedules, improving the activities of consumer cooperatives, further reinforcing the material-technical base, optimally deploying enterprises, putting their operating schedules in good order, improving the activities of kolkhoz markets, and setting up effective monitoring controls on the organizations of services to the population.

In connection with this republic's Council of Ministers, an examination has been made of problems of improving scientific provisions for developing the agroindustrial

complex; converting scientific organizations to full cost accounting and self-financing; additional measures for developing enterprises' subsidiary farms, organizations, and institutions, as well as citizens' private, auxiliary farms, collective gardening, and orchard cultivation.

The Central Committee Buro also discussed several other matters.

2384

**Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Views Crime, Public Order Problems**

*18000094a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 pp 1,2*

[Unattributed report: "Session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The regularly scheduled session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place on 12 November; it examined questions connected with holding the Eighth Session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation. It discussed and approved proposals concerning the agenda and operating procedures of that session.

After hearing the report by D.G. Gutsu, deputy chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission, on the completion of the work by this and other standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet regarding the preliminary consideration of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the republic's State Budget for 1988, as well as progress in carrying out the 1987 plan and an account of the performance of the 1986 budget, the Presidium noted that the commissions had profoundly analyzed the republic's plan and budget for 1988, studied in detail the state of affairs in the national economy, listened to reports by the leading officials of ministries, state committees, and departments, as well as soviet ispolkoms on the development of sectors, rayon and city territories, implementation of the recommendations and proposals in the conclusions of the planning and budget commissions for 1987, along with reports on how the voters' mandates are being carried out. These reports revealed quite a few shortcomings which are holding back the process of qualitatively renewing the economy and accelerating development of the socio-cultural sphere. The attention of state and economic organs was drawn to the need for overcoming as rapidly as possible the lag that has been allowed to occur in the production of industrial and agricultural goods, the fulfillment of obligations with regard to deliveries, putting into operation fixed capital, housing, social facilities, and unconditionally fulfilling the 1987 plan with respect to all technical-economic indicators. It was recommended that we seek out reserves and additional possibilities for stepping up the pace of production, further activating the human factor, and enhancing the prosperity of the working people.

Also examined was the question of implementing in the Moldavian SSR the USSR Law "On Individual Labor Activity" according to the report of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers (delivered by V.K. Kitenko). The decree which was adopted will be published in the press.

After discussing the question of serious shortcomings in ensuring the preservation of public order, in combatting serious and dangerous crimes in the city of Kishinev, the Presidium noted that the activity of the city Soviet of People's Deputies, the law-enforcement and other state organs and public organizations with regard to providing the proper preservation of public order and combatting serious and dangerous crimes does not correspond to the demands laid down in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Reinforcing Socialist Legality and Law and Order, Strengthening the Preservation of Citizens' Rights and Legitimate Interests." The city has not developed approaches new in principle to organizing the entire complex of this work under the conditions of expanding democracy, glasnost, and restructuring.

The city and rayon soviets, their ispolkoms, and deputies are insufficiently utilizing their own powers; they have not fully acknowledged their own special role and extraordinary responsibility in ensuring socialist legality, as well as in exercising strict monitoring controls on the activities of the law-enforcement organs. They are too weak in their analysis and too slow in eliminating shortcomings in preventive work and in determining the causes of criminal manifestations. There is cause for concern in the low level of the struggle against drunkenness, the work to prevent mercenary crimes by previously convicted offenders and parasites, preventing violations of the law by minors, the lack herein of coordination among state organs, educational institutions, and the general public. The activity of the city's law-enforcement organs has not demonstrated any restructuring in the style, forms, and methods for solving the problems of strengthening public order, increasing the effectiveness of measures to prevent, deter, discover in time, and investigate crimes, nor to ensure the irreversability of punishment for the guilty persons.

The Presidium obligated the city and rayon soviets, as well as their ispolkoms, to outline and, within the briefest possible time-frame, carry out a complex of measures to strengthen the preservation of public order and the fight against dangerous crimes, to prevent them and ensure the proper public order. They must decisively overcome any manifestations of bureaucratism or red tape, a neglectful attitude toward the law and people's fates, to satisfying their legitimate interests and demands. They must regularly bring up for consideration by sessions of the soviets, ispolkoms, and standing commissions questions of the status of legality, increase our exacting standards for the leading officials of the law-enforcement organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations for ensuring public order. They must significantly activate the work of ispolkom commissions regarding socialist legality and preservation of public

order, the fight against drunkenness, administrative and observational matters, as well as those dealing with minors' cases, channeling their activities into raising the level of educational and preventive measures, deterring violations of the law, re-educating and correcting law-breakers. They must tighten up the requirements on and personal responsibility of managers of enterprises and organizations for the status of legality and law and order, the operational effectiveness of voluntary people's guardians, comrades' courts, councils for prevention, and other public organizations.

By way of the monitoring control, procedures, the Presidium examined the questions of the progress being made in carrying out the decrees of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, dated 11 July 1986 and entitled "On Further Developing Democratic Principles in the Activities of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Bessarabskiy Rayon in Light of the Decisions Adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, dated 5 September 1985 and entitled "On the Work of the Moldavian SSR Construction Materials Industry with Regard to Strengthening State, Planning, and Labor Discipline at Sub-Departmental Enterprises and in Organizations in Light of the Demands Made by the April and July (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenums," dated 30 March 1985 and entitled "On Observance in the Moldavian SSR of the Legislative Requirements Concerning Social Security for Participants in the Great Patriotic War and Granting Them Established Privileges," as well as other matters on which appropriate acts have been adopted.

Taking part in the discussion of these matters were the following members of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: A.G. Zhdanov, V.M. Iovv, I.I. Buzhenitsa, V.A. Vinebryacha, A.V. Simashkevich, as well as L.A. Bolgariya, chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission, B.M. Stratulat, chairman of the Health Care, Physical Education, and Social Security Commission, N.F. Ivanov, chairman of the Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commission, N.K. Demidenko, the republic's procurators, P.M. Tsymay, ispolkom chairman of the Bender City Soviet of People's Deputies, V.D. Pener, Kishinev city procurator, A.I. Rogut, chief of the Kishinev Gorispolkom's UVD [Internal Affairs Administration], along with M.V. Chebotar, N.P. Kalak, and V.G. Mirza, ispolkom deputy chairman of the Dnistrovskiy and Sovetskiy Rayon and Sorokskiy City Soviets of People's Deputies.

A.A. Morkanu, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke at the session.

2384

#### Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers Views Plan Fulfillment Shortcomings

18000094b Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "In the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers has been held. It examined the question of measures taken to implement the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the Moldavian SSR State Budget for 1987, as well as ensuring steady operation of the republic's national economy during 1987.

It was noted at the session that the intensified work which has been unleashed with regard to implementing the tasks set forth by the party for accelerating socioeconomic development, deepening the process of society's democratization, increasingly broader participation of working people in running the economy, the enhanced political and labor activity of the population in the struggle to welcome the 75th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in a worthy manner are all yielding some definite positive results in carrying out the plan assignments set for 1987, ensuring further growth in public production and the people's well-being.

The Council of Ministers emphasized that in light of the lines taken by the October (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the decisions adopted by the Eighth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, it is necessary to mobilize all internal reserves for the purpose of unconditionally carrying out the current year's plan assignments and creating the necessary starts for the further dynamic growth of the republic's national economy during 1988.

As noted at the session, for the 10 elapsed months of 1987 the assignments with regard to product sales, labor productivity, and profits in industry have been fulfilled. In the agroindustrial sector there have been increases in the procurement amounts of livestock-raising products. The scope of housing and socio-cultural construction has increased. By way of state funds apartment houses with a total area of 602,400 square meters have been put into operation: this amounts to 33 percent more than the corresponding period of last year. The average monthly wages of workers and office employees have increased, as have also the labor payments for kolkhoz members. There have likewise been increases in the payments and privileges from the public consumption funds.

At the same time it was pointed out that there continue to be serious shortcomings in the work of the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments. In several extremely important sectors of the economy the acceleration of the development rate necessary for fulfilling the annual plans has not been achieved; there has been a decrease in the overall volume of agricultural output; the plan assignments have not been carried out with regard to the output of industry's food sectors; and obligations have not been met with respect to delivery of products to consumers.

The necessary turning-point in the work of the construction complex has not been achieved. The annual plan for putting fixed capital into operation by means of state capital investments has been fulfilled by less than 10

percent during the 10-month period. A total space of apartment houses amounting to 66,800 square meters remains to be introduced. Lags have been allowed to occur in fulfilling the plan for putting general-education schools, children's preschool institutions, hospitals and polyclinics, clubs, and houses of culture into operation. Projects have not been satisfactorily carried out by the contractual organizations under the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Construction (P.S. Mikhnevich) and the Agropromstroy Production Association under the Moldavian SSR Gosagroprom (Yu.N. Zinov'yev). There was a failure in contractual obligations regarding goods shipments by the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Motor Transport (V.M. Fomin).

For the republic as a whole there was a failure to fulfill the plan with respect to amounts of retail-goods turnover (99.6 percent) and paid services to the population (99.4 percent). As before, there has been an unsatisfactory performance of trade in food-and-vegetable output by the organizations under the Moldavian SSR Gosagroprom (V.A. Ryabich).

The government of the Moldavian SSR noted that the disruption in many assignments of the State Plan for Economic and State Development has created a stressful situation in the work to be done by this republic's national economy during the remaining period of the current year. The Council of Ministers demanded that ministries, state committees, departments, and ispolkoms of rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies carry out constructive measures with regard to eliminating revealed shortcomings and omissions, organizing precise and well-coordinated work in all production sections for the purpose of overcoming the lag which has been permitted in a number of sectors with regard to fulfilling plan assignments.

Taking into consideration the fact that the national economy is entering upon the most difficult winter operating conditions, the ministries, state committees, departments, and ispolkoms of rayon and city soviets during the briefest possible time period are obligated to promulgate all the outlined measures for preparing enterprises in industry, construction, transport, housing, community services, and other sectors for winter; they must fully take into account the accumulations which were allowed to occur last year.

The attention of ministries, state committees, departments, and ispolkoms of rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies was drawn to the necessity for conducting all organizational-practical work with regard to ensuring the fulfillment of plan assignments, proceeding from the principled position of the October (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum to the effect that the national economy is now at a crucial phase of restructuring. All levels of economic management must fully take into account the characteristics of the coming year, when enterprises turning out approximately half of the republic's entire industrial products will convert to cost

accounting and self-financing, the statutes of the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) will go into effect, and the sphere of utilizing the state acceptance of products will be broadened. In 1988 the operational stability must be ensured, along with higher levels of its development rate than during the first two years of the five-year plan.

Having noted that work on concluding agreements to deliver goods within systems of the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry (I.I. Demchenko), the Ministry of Bakery Products (M.I. Tuzlov), Gosagroprom (V.A. Protsenko), and several other ministries and departments is proceeding with intolerable slowness, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers demanded that they ensure its completion within the briefest possible time period, as well as strengthening and broadening direct links between product consumers and producers as the foundation of steady operation of the national economy beginning with the new year. The timely conclusion of contract agreements will be of determining importance for the construction complex's successful operation during 1988.

Particular emphasis was placed on the need for high-priority solution of social problems. We must actively utilize all possibilities for increasing the production of consumer goods and services, improve the supply of high-quality foods and other items to the population.

Guided by the appraisals and conclusions provided by the conference held in the CPSU Central Committee on 17 October of the current year concerning questions of accelerating the development of the agroindustrial complex's processing sectors, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers drew the attention of the Moldavian SSR Gosagroprom, the ispolkoms of the rayon-level Soviets of People's Deputies, and all economic-management organs to the necessity for an accelerated renewal of the material-technical base for processing, storing, and transporting raw materials and food products, for a more expanded introduction of waste-free technologies, a sharp reduction of losses, and, based on this, a radical improvement in providing the population with food. The solution of this problem must be considered as a task of nationwide political importance.

The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers discussed the status and measures to restore health to the financial situation of sectors of the republic's national economy. It was noted that, in accordance with the decisions taken at the June (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a certain amount of work on developing and implementing specific measures along these lines has been conducted. However, financial changes for the better have not been steady, and the financial situation of many sectors remains tense. The decision which was taken approved the tasks assigned for 1988-1990 with regard to additional mobilization of intra-farm reserves for improving

the financial situation in sectors of the national economy. Ministries and departments were directed to institute the necessary procedures in this matter.

The session also examined questions of activating the work done by this republic's ministries, state committees, departments, ispolkoms of rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies regarding the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism in light of the positions taken by

the CPSU Central Committee and concerning progress in carrying out the decisions of the party and the government with regard to the development of cooperatives and the population's individual labor activity in the Moldavian SSR; the appropriate decisions were adopted on these matters.

2384

**Uzbek Party Official on Function, Importance of Local Press**  
*18300067 Tashkent PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 9, Sep 87 pp 88-93*

[Article by T. Egamberdiyeva, secretary of the Uzbek CP Fergana Obkom, under "Ideological and Political-Indoctrinational Work" rubric: "A Newspaper's Point of View Should Be an Activist One"]

[Text] More often than not we begin our workday by glancing through the latest issues of the newspapers. Our life and the progress of restructuring is widely reflected in the press.

Undoubtedly for me as a party official who deals with problems of ideological activity in the party obkom attention to the local press is a duty. And if an ordinary reader can indifferently or irritably toss aside a newspaper which contains nothing interesting or timely for him, for party officials this is grounds for analyzing and bringing to light the reasons why the mass media are lagging behind the demands of these crucial times. And every time you analyze them, you come to the conclusion that a great deal depends on the level of party leadership in this field. Targeted, effective work of editorial collectives nowadays is also the result of the party's attention to it.

In our oblast, in addition to the newspapers *Kommuna* and *Ferganskaya pravda*, 3 more city, 13 rayon, and 7 large-circulation newspapers are also published. Programs of plant, rayon, city, and oblast radio stations are broadcast over the air. All this taken together comprises a powerful instrument for mobilizing working people to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress, as well as those of the January and June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, and for molding public opinion. To their honor it must be said that day after day they are increasing their contribution to speeding up socioeconomic development, to restructuring the economic mechanism, as well as people's psychology and social awareness.

This process is to be traced most precisely in the pages of the oblast newspapers. Let me cite a few examples. Thus, last year the newspaper *Kommuna* devoted an entire typesetter's page to a story about the work being done by the city of Kokand's primary party organizations on utilizing labor reserves; it was approved by the Uzbek CP Central Committee. But just how did the newspaper attract the readers' attention? First of all, by the journalists' creative approach to developing this important topic. They knew that work has been conducted in the oblast to discover people who are unemployed in the public sector of production, and that ways are being sought to solve this problem. Hence, the newspaper very thoroughly studied the measures being undertaken along these lines by the city party organization. In particular, they have begun to introduce a two- or three-shift work

schedule at enterprises. This has achieved two goals. First, new jobs have been created; second, the yield of equipment has been increased.

*Kommuna* also revealed some painfully urgent problems. The principal one is the city's disproportionate socioeconomic growth. During the last few five-year plans preference here has been given to the production sphere, while the construction of social, cultural, and consumer-service facilities has lagged behind. Moreover, as analysis has shown, the largest portion of these inhabitants not involved in publicly useful work is composed of mothers who have several children each. There are not enough vacancies in children's preschool institutions.

In order to study the experience of the restructuring being implemented in the city, a republic-level seminar was conducted in Kokand on the problems of optimally using labor reserves. Due to the efforts of journalists, the present initiative received widespread dissemination and public response.

The oblast newspaper worked effectively and with a high yield. This is also the result of restructuring the methods of party guidance of the mass media and propaganda by the party obkom. I can say with assurance that constant attention to the press by the party committee has reflected beneficially on the results of the journalists' work. Just take the following example. When the primary party organizations of the editorial offices were determining their tasks for the year, the secretaries and other officials of the party obkom participated in the communists' meetings. This had not been the practice previously.

The officials spoke frankly at party meetings about the following urgent matters: insufficient attention is being paid to their needs by the obkom, in particular, not enough information is furnished to journalists concerning the situation in various sectors of the national economy, and we must channel our efforts into making sure that journalists' activity is a component part of the work being carried out by the party obkom. They raised important and timely questions, stated the wish that responsible obkom officials meet more frequently with the creative collectives, attend brief editorial meetings, provide advice and comments on the newspapers' contents. In short, they must see to it that the link between the party committee and its organs is close, businesslike, and effective.

It is fitting and natural that we are confronted with these problems point-blank. Therefore, from the very beginning of restructuring we were intimately engaged in improving the guidance of the mass media.

First of all, we began to conduct quarterly press conferences. As a rule, the party obkom secretaries as well as the leading officials of the oblispolkom and sectors of the

national economy speak there. They raise urgent questions and talk about the work of the party obkom and oblispolkom; they also provide complete and objective information about life in the oblast.

Press surveys constitute an important part of these press conferences. It is precisely they which allow us to judge the progress being made on restructuring in our city and rayon newspapers, as well as to have an idea concerning the level of party guidance of the local press. Thus, at one of the press conferences it was noted that the rayon newspaper *Toshlok tongi* had formed good contacts with the party raykom. Such examples are still not too frequent, although in places measures are being undertaken to deepen the contents and improve the artistic format of the publications. But, of course, the chief criterion of these measures' effectiveness comprises the objectivity, timeliness, and effectiveness of the newspaper pieces and radio broadcasts, level of glasnost, critical thrust of the publications, and a profound reflection of the progress being made by restructuring in the localities. Thus, the Altyarykskiy Rayon newspaper *Pakhta uchun* has recently been paying a great deal of attention to elucidating ideological problems. This would seem to be a fine thing. But closer study has shown that these publications suffer from an absence of analysis; they are informative in nature and lack criticism of the miscalculations that have been allowed to occur.

At the press conferences we have subjected our journalists to some unpleasant criticism. Yes, we are partial in evaluating the activities of newspaper and radio editors. But could it really be otherwise in such crucial times and with these problems which require effective intervention? Restructuring is proceeding with difficulty in construction, transportation, and other sectors. We have directed the newspapers to conduct a broad-based and multifaceted analysis of this situation. In its pages *Ferganskaya pravda* also attempts to show those changes which have been outlined in their work. For example, in housing construction builders have adopted the collective contract method, and transport workers have effectuated the Saratov experience in organizing freight hauls at one of the motor-vehicle centers. The newspaper subjects to critical analysis production organization and work in those sections where there has been too little changes for the better. In short, the newspaper is acting. At the same time, however, we cannot award high marks to its participation in restructuring for the simple reason that there are still just too many omissions in the journalists' work.

For example, *Ferganskaya pravda* constantly processes basic materials by "guest editors" from enterprises, construction projects, farms, and rayons. The regularity of their publication is not bad, and the analytic quality is high. And even the response is more widespread than that evinced by the usual critical article: union- and republic-level ministries reply to the newspaper. But in recent months the editorial collective has allowed this work to drift somewhat.

The Kokand city newspaper *Mekhnat bayrogi* has done a good job of elucidating the problems of social development and cultural-everyday services. But its pages do not contain the necessary reflection of the atheistic work being done by party organizations, even though the religious situation in this city is far from simple. There are similar contracts in the activities of practically all the oblast's newspapers. It is understandable that one day is not enough to correct everything which has accumulated over a lengthy period of time. Judge for yourselves: during the last two or three years the Akhunba bayevskiy, Altyarykskiy, and Bagdadskiy party raykoms have not once discussed at their own meetings the problems of the work being done by the mass media.

Neither are we ourselves free from blame because the party obkom is also guilty of omissions in what has happened. These omissions must be corrected immediately. Since we understood that press conferences alone would not be sufficient to solve this problem, we stepped up our attention to it on entire political days. Every day we conduct surveys of the oblast newspapers. This allows us to constantly monitor the editors' activities. Proceeding from these surveys, we hold conferences with press representatives on certain very important problems.

Meetings have become more frequent between party and soviet officials and journalists: they take place in a businesslike atmosphere, evolve into frank conversations and exchanges of opinions on urgent matters. Thus, Kh. Umarov, first secretary of the party obkom, spoke at the oblast journalistic organization's reports-and-elections conference. At the party obkom secretaries participated in the oblast radio's reports-and-elections meeting, as well as at the party meetings held by the editors of the newspapers *Kommuna* and *Ferganskaya pravda*.

Analogous meetings have also revealed certain omissions in the party's guidance of the mass media. Thus, the journalists complained that we, while justifiably demanding a full yield from them, are insufficiently concerned about moral and material incentives, or about improving their housing conditions. For example, the Frunzenskiy and Uzbekistanskiy party raykoms do not always skilfully guide the creative collectives, and they pay attention to newspapers only when the latter allow certain mistakes to occur.

At such meetings the addresses of these collectives where the journalists were willy nilly offered the necessary information have been disclosed. As a rule, we immediately "make a note" of these requests and remarks.

At the present time not only the obkom officials but also those of the party gorkoms and raykoms are frequent guests at newspaper offices. Regular discussions have begun to be held at the party gorkom and raykom buros on questions connected with the effectiveness of newspaper pieces. There is a gradual improvement in providing press and radio employees with transport and housing. We have begun to conduct more frequent exchanges

of opinions regarding journalists' work, brief field trips to localities, and the probationary service period of rayon and city newspaper staff members in the oblast editorial offices.

Party committees have paid particular attention to improving the qualitative composition of press employees. Working today in newspaper editorial offices are 174 creative employees; 117 of them are communists, 14 have a higher party-political education, and 71 have a special education. But, of course, this is still not enough. This was also talked about at the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and the leading officials of the mass media and propaganda—a meeting held in the CPSU Central Committee. The profound changes which are occurring in public life, in newspapers and journals, in television and radio, require an influx into journalism of fresh forces, of talented young persons well-toughened by life. In connection with this, we have outlined several measures directed at strengthening the ties with the higher educational institutions which train journalistic personnel.

The celebration of Press Day has become a new form in the arsenal of measures aimed at restructuring the work of the mass media and propaganda and enhancing their prestige. For the first time the oblasts' journalists addressed their readers not from the pages of their own publications but directly from the hall. They talked about their own work, about the purposes and tasks of the press; the readers also spoke, and they expressed their own wishes and remarks. The participants in the holiday became acquainted with a photo exhibit which narrated the history of the newspaper *Ferganskaya pravda*. The journalists and non-staff writers were awarded honorary certificates and valuable gifts.

At the initiative of the party obkom's Department of Propaganda and Agitation, a one-day seminar was held for secretaries of primary party organs of newspaper editors and the radio committee. The idea for such a seminar did not arise by chance. As known, the 27th CPSU Congress raised the question, among others, of increasing the sense of urgency among primary party organizations, communists' responsibility for matters entrusted to them, strengthening their influence on the restructuring process. Chief emphasis was placed on communists' reports re the complex questions of editors' plans and operational plans of the party organizations. It was also noted that the party organizations' role in carrying out the collectives' tasks had been reduced, and so political indoctrinal work had not remained at the necessary level. All this had to be corrected. Of course, it is no secret that the inertia and passivity of some communists have inevitably been reflected in the quality of newspaper work, and on a larger scale—on progress in restructuring mass media and propaganda.

Partkoms have begun to pay more persistent attention to matters of creative collectives; this was also shown in the discussion of the editorial plans. For example, the operational editorial plans of the newspapers *Kommuna* and *Ferganskaya pravda* were approved in the party obkom buro. This was not the practice previously.

Our newspapers' sense of urgency and effectiveness are on the rise. Speeding up socioeconomic development based on scientific and technical progress, intensifying production, and activating the human factor—these now comprise the chief topic of oblast, city, rayon, and large-circulation newspapers, published in three languages. They have begun to bring up acute, urgent questions for readers' discussion. *Ferganskaya pravda* published material under the headline "Failure after Failure. What Next?", devoted to the problems of an artificial-leather plant. Journalists carefully analyzed the reasons for this enterprise's poor work, and the publication was sent to this republic's Ministry of Light Industry.

The journalists' efforts helped. The plant began to receive the needed raw materials during the specified time periods and started to operate smoothly. There are several such examples in the editors' work.

The Kokand city newspaper *Znamya truda* and the Yazyavanskiy Rayon newspaper *Markaziy Fargona* have increased the effectiveness of their pieces. Economic questions are being raised ever-more frequently and profoundly by khakikati, the Kirovskiy Rayon's *Kommunizm yuli*, the Kuvinskaya *Lenin bayrogi*, and others.

Recently we have been paying more attention to large-circulation newspapers. Earlier it was somehow considered that, inasmuch as these newspapers are enterprise partkom organs, only the latter should concern themselves about their large-circulation newspapers; the party gorkoms and raykoms need not peer too closely at their activities. For five years one A. Ergashev worked as editor of the Azot Production Association's large-circulation newspaper. Hiding a past conviction, this amoral person had presented forged documents at work. In his job he never contributed anything of his own; the newspaper was basically made up of materials reprinted from other publications, but the association's partkom and the Fergana Party Gorkom simply did not notice this. And it was only at the insistence of the party obkom that their "casual" editor was fired from his job.

Newspapers, other mass media, and propaganda play a great role in organizing socialist competition during the period of raw-cotton harvesting and procurement. During the "cotton campaign" six issues of the organ of the oblast's *Fargona chagmogi* Press Center are published. Its name is *Ferganska ya molniya*, and its pages widely disseminate the experience of outstanding workers. Together with the editors of oblast newspapers and the radio-broadcasting committee, the press center organized "raids" on lagging farms. At its sessions the press center staff examined the progress in elucidating the hectic cotton harvest in the rayon newspapers.

When noting the signs of the new approach to organizing newspaper work, we are pleased for our journalists every time. But I wish to stress that now the causes for criticizing editors' work are more than for positive appraisals. Newspapers still quite often contain weakly argued, superficial materials. All too often the pieces lack urgency, aggressiveness, and depth of analysis. Take, for example, the Akhunbabayevskiy Rayon newspaper *Lenin yuli*. Here, instead of delving into the cause of the lag in agriculture, they attempt to over-emphasize individual achievements. The problems of health care, carrying out school reform, and other matters are insufficiently explained in the newspaper. All this testifies to the fact that the *Lenin yuli* journalists have not restructured their own activities.

There are other factors too: the newspaper would seem to be effectively responding to the urgent problems of the day. However, if we look into such publications a bit more deeply, we are engulfed by dissatisfaction. For example, economic problems and the work of industrial enterprises are elucidated unskillfully and without knowledge of the matter by the Buvaydinskiy Rayon newspaper *Olga*, the Bagdadskiy *Avangard*, and the organ of the Frunzenskiy Party Raykom and Raysoviet *Galaba*.

Radio journalists are also restructuring their work too slowly. Raw, faceless materials often go out over the airwaves. Rank-and-file workers and kolkhoz members speak too seldom on the radio. The professional level of rayon radio broadcasting is too low.

Non-staff writers are active assistants to our newspapers. Their number is steadily growing. Editorial collectives have begun to pay more attention to working with their own chief correspondents. Rallies and zonal seminars of rabselkors [worker-farmer correspondents] are being held constantly. And attention to their materials has increased. Oblast newspapers now have at their disposal great possibilities for working with non-staff activists. The People's University of Journalism is working with the editorial offices. Dozens of its alumni, having passed through the rabselk or school and graduated from journalism departments, have come to work in editorial offices. In recent years, however, the yield of the People's University has declined somewhat. The chief reason lies in the lack of sufficient attention paid to its own reserves by the editors and their primary party organizations. Great and effective aid can and should be rendered to the rabselk or school by the board of the oblast journalism organization, for the best creative forces are in its ranks. It is high time that we utilize them fully.

It was not by chance that I mentioned the oblast journalism organization. At the reports-and-elections conference just past many shortcomings in this organization's activities were exposed: over-organization, formalism, an outward show of restructuring the board's work. Journalistic training has been very badly neglected, and many creative sections have been idle, although their "deeds" were enumerated in the reports. Against this

background, the stance of the partkoms in the localities became clearly visible with regard to creative organizations: a poor knowledge of the situation within them, indifference, and the main thing—a lack of clear party leadership.

I think that in the future we will succeed in rooting out these shortcomings. Such work has already started, and, furthermore, nowadays it is impossible to approach the matter in any other way—too many big problems confront journalists and the press. Taking into account the fact that personnel decide the success of any matter, certification of staff members has been instituted in all editorial offices. It has allowed us to deploy our forces correctly, compelled us to pull up those who were working at half-speed, and to get rid of loafers and idlers.

The best editorial collectives have waged a struggle to make their newspapers profitable. Up to the present year the Kokand city newspapers *Mekhnat bayrogi* and *Znamya truda* were self-supporting. Now the city newspaper *Margilon khakikati* have been added to them. Oblast publications have also joined in the struggle.

Yet another path to profitability is to improve newspaper printing. In both *Kommuna* and *Ferganskaya pravda* a great deal is being done to achieve this. For example, every year *Ferganskaya pravda* is the winner in the republic-wide contest for the best job of printing. But an alarming trend has been noted here. Whereas previously this newspaper was awarded the Diploma First Class, in accordance with the 1985 results it received the Diploma Third Class. What is the matter here? The trouble is that the printing center is very bad. The press's requirements for quality are constantly increasing, but the oblast printing plant has not renovated its obsolete and worn equipment or its outmoded technology. Photographs in the newspapers quite often come out very distorted. Of course, this does not enhance the publication's prestige. We link improvement of matters here with the modernization of the oblast's printing plant. Up-to-date offset printing equipment must be introduced. Modernization does not require much expenditure, the erection of new buildings and structures. We have reported on this in our proposals directed to the republic's Goskomizdat, but we have not yet received a specific reply.

Nor do we have enough highly skilled printers. We must organize their training with trips to the republic's and the entire country's leading enterprises. This matter would also be helped by an exchange of work experience, personnel, and courses to upgrade skills. All this comprises valuable reserves which must be used. Our oblast's labor collectives are getting ready to mark the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution by shock work. On the pages of our newspapers we find a reflection of how socialist competition, labor initiative, and restructuring in all spheres of life are gathering force.

At the January and June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenums M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the mass media and propaganda officials gave concrete form to the press's task in the struggle to carry out the 27th party congress's decisions, to restructure socioeconomic development, social creation, and people's psychology. Guided by these documents, the party oblast committee will adopt all measures to strengthen the direction of the editorial collectives' activities. Our newspapers must be in the foremost ranks of the struggle to expand glasnost, democracy, along with the renewal and purification of society.

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**Tajik Znaniye Society Outlines Propaganda Restructuring Needs**  
*18300071 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 17 Nov 87 p 3*

[TadzhikTA Report: "To Raise Seminar Propaganda to the Level of New Tasks"]

[Text] The problems facing member organizations of the "Znaniye" Society and people's universities in the republic were discussed at the second joint plenum of the Administration of the republic's "Znaniye" Society and the TaSSR People's Universities Council.

The chairman of the republic's "Znaniye" Society, Academician of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences Kh.Kh.Karimov spoke at the plenum.

He and others noted in their speeches that "Znaniye" member organizations and the republic's people's universities conduct considerable work explaining the strategic course of the party aimed at restructuring of all aspects of the Soviet society and affirmation of glasnost. Ahead of the seventieth anniversary of the October revolution, lectors' groups intensified the teaching of the role of the socialist revolution in the history of Tajiks and other Central Asian nations, and provided well-argued explanations of the essence of today's revolutionary changes that are based on the ideas of the October revolution.

The plenum's participants noted that a restructuring of seminar work has begun in the republic. In Dushanbe, Nurek, and Leninabad Oblast an experiment is being tried: there, "Znaniye" coordinates the seminar activity of all government and social organizations and artistic unions, using such organizational techniques as joint trips. To improve the quality of the seminars it has been decided to test "Znaniye"'s personnel. The review of the staffs of the methodological entities is being completed, and a new staff of the republic's People's Universities Council has been approved.

Nevertheless, it was noted at the plenum that the restructuring at "Znaniye" organizations and people's universities is proceeding slowly. Thus far, it has covered only the administrative aspects. Qualitative indicators of their work show no signs of improvement, and there is, in effect, no control over the effectiveness of seminar work.

Serious shortcomings were noted also in the work of people's universities. They have an unnecessarily broad network in the republic. Some of them exist only on paper: classes are not even held. Existing means of regular and effective education about scientific and technological progress, improvements in the economic system, and implementation of the new equipment and technology are used poorly. The republic's Science and Technology Society has not made any appreciable contribution to improving such work. These shortcomings were made possible because control over "Znaniye" member's activities by the administration of oblast, city, and rayon organizations and local and administrative soviets has been weak; they have not grasped the substance of the problems of the day and have not been able to evaluate negative phenomena honestly. "Znaniye"'s administration and the TaSSR People's Universities Council have been busy mainly with everyday problems and have been unable to provide regular supervision over entities for which they are responsible.

The plenum passed an appropriate resolution on this question.

Deputy Chairman of the Union "Znaniye" Society A.N. Starodub and Deputy Director of the Communist Party of the TaSSR Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, Chairman of the TaSSR People's Universities Council G.P. Zinchenko spoke at the plenum.

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**Director on Impact of Restructuring in History Institute's Work**

18300065 Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 5 Sep-Oct 87 pp 87-93

[Interview by NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA correspondent with USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute Director and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Z. V. Udal'tsova]

[Text] [Question] Along what directions is the restructuring of the work of the General History Institute taking place in light of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the April (1985), January and June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenums?

[Answer] The stagnant phenomena of the 70's-early 80's have been reflected also on historical sciences. It is quite evident that the former rates of development of general history, the degree of its assimilation of historical material, and the quality of work on general history cannot satisfy the demands of the present day. We must attain new and higher limits. Particular responsibility in this regard is placed on the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute, which is the leader in this sphere of sciences. The "well-being" of general history will largely depend on how substantially we improve the entire institute organism, the style and methods of its work, and on how well we succeed in the process of restructuring in organically combining the rich living traditions accumulated over the decades with bold innovation.

The restructuring of the institute's work at the present time is proceeding along the following basic directions:

1. Updating problematics. We have already and will continue to introduce new topics into the plan for research work. The assimilation of these topics from the standpoint of the new political thinking will enable us to identify and monitor the long-term tendencies of the historical development of mankind in their integrated interaction. Specifically, the two-volume work "Mir v XX veke" [The World in the 20th Century] should provide an answer to these questions.

Work is proceeding on the study of a number of "acute" topics which are the subject of the most bitter polemics with bourgeois historiography. In this connection, such works as "Prichiny vozniknoveniya vtoroy mirovoy voyny" [Reasons for the Occurrence of World War II], "God 1939" [The Year 1939], and "Poslevoyennoye mirnoye uregulirovaniye" [Post-War Peacetime Regulation] have been introduced into the plan.

2. Improving the theoretical and methodological level of historical science.

The primary task facing historical sciences, and specifically general history, in the process of restructuring is the improvement of the general theoretical level. At the

present time, many theoretical problems have been accumulated, without whose solution it is impossible to move ahead. The most important of these, and requiring first priority development, are the following: the general regularities and specific peculiarities of the development of socio-economic formations, and their internal typology; the relationship of historical regularities with general sociological laws; the problem of transitional epochs and the entire complex set of questions entering into this problem (their internal structure, the place of social revolutions in transitional periods, the peculiarities of pre- and post-revolutionary phases of the transitional epoch, their multi-structural nature, etc.); the problem of the general and the specific and the associated problems of world-wide significance, historical epoch, and historical region; the peculiarities of development of modern-day capitalism, and the theoretical problems of social revolutions.

An important aspect in the process of restructuring historical science is also the development of those topics which previously were unjustifiably considered totally resolved, and which had dropped out of sight of scientists. Such topics, for example, are the problem of periodization of the new time and the relation of periodization of world history and local historical processes.

We plan to give primary attention to all these questions. We have also made it a rule to include theoretical-historiographic sections in all the institute's works which would show the state of the studied topic in world science and the antagonism of existing conceptions.

3. Reviewing research plans at all levels for the purpose of excluding insignificant topics and duplications, and in order to concentrate our efforts in the most promising and priority directions. We are actively conducting this work, but have not yet completed it.

4. Expanding interdisciplinary research, developing scientific works in conjunction with philosophers, literary specialists, cultural historians, economists, and especially historians working in other fields of historical science. Such cooperation was provided in working on the collective works entitled "Istoriya Yevropy" [History of Europe], "Istoriya Latinskoy Ameriki" [History of Latin America], "Mir v XX veke", [The World in the 20th Century], and a number of others.

5. Organizing and conducting scientific discussions. The institute has implemented a search for new forms of activating the intellectual potential of its associates and of ensuring the optimal impact of fundamental research performed by its historians on social practice. A historian's discussion club has been created, where the most current problems of historical science and current social development are being discussed. The club's first meeting dealt with the topic of "The Anti-War Movement in the 20th Century: Results, Problems and Perspectives". It was held in March of 1987 and received a high evaluation in *Moskovskaya Pravda*. The second meeting

was held in June, and was devoted to the role of religion in history. There are plans to devote particular attention to the concentration of the scientific efforts of young researchers united into a young people's section. They will work in close contact with leading scientists. The discussion club hopes to actively involve not only historians, but also social scientists, writers and journalists.

Also, special discussion columns and sections are being introduced in all of the institute's journals, annual and other periodical publications. An important role in furthering the discussions should also belong to the Academic and Scientific Councils, whose work we today extend beyond its former limited framework. The work of conducting the discussions must bear a planned character, although not excluding the possibility of identifying new and "unexpected" topics of discussion. The scientific discussions should also be planned for participation of leading institute associates in the republics and oblasts.

The implementation of the outlined measures will make it possible to achieve a significant improvement in the quality of the scientific production output, which is the key element in restructuring. The set of scientific-organizational measures implemented within the institute is also subordinated to this goal.

We have improved the organizational structure of the institute. Following the creation of sections to strengthen the ties between the sectors, a number of temporary structural creative groups were created for fulfilling specific tasks. These included a group for the preparation of "Istoriya Yevropy" [A History of Europe], "Kratkaya vsemirnaya istoriya" [Concise World History], and "Mir v XX veke" [The World in the 20th Century], as well as a group on historical demography. Another group is being formed for the application of mathematical methods in historical research. For purposes of furthering the study of individual countries, informal creative research groups have been formed on British, German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese history, as well as the history of the Scandinavian countries and Finland. With the help of these groups, we will also try to coordinate the work of historians specializing in regional geography on an all-union scale.

The work on updating the membership of the editorial staff of all 10 of the institute's periodical publications is nearing completion. Associates who have not taken an active part in the work will be excluded from membership, and new members will be introduced, particularly young people within the scientific community. We will require that the editorial staff perform long-term planning of the work, implement a more goal-oriented and exacting publication policy, and intensify the thematic character of each issue of an annual publication or periodical of collected works on regional geography.

We also ascribe great importance to other organizational measures directed at improving executive discipline and the quality of scientific production. Thus, for example, we have introduced a new system of approving manuscripts for publication which provides for their thorough and multi-step discussion and which, we hope, will make it possible to eliminate complimentary criticism. New annual standards have been established for authorship which make it possible to demand an improvement in quality and also to take into consideration the considerable scientific-organizational, editorial, and reviewer activity of the associates. A new system of closing individual annual plans has been introduced which provides for strict control over the associates' completion of all authorship tasks planned for them for the year.

Measures for democratizing the decision making process further the mobilization of scientific potential. For example, these are measures dealing with such questions as the material incentives given for the work of the associates, the formulation of publication plans and plans for scientific trips abroad, and the election of leadership of the regional study groups.

The role of the Scientific Council has weakened somewhat in recent years. We hope to increase its importance in institute life. In this connection, we are orienting the Scientific Soviet toward the role of a generator of scientific ideas, an organ which helps to more precisely define the quality of research work of the subsection associates, and also, undoubtedly, toward the fulfillment of those functions which are provided for it by the new USSR Academy of Sciences Research Institute Charter.

Restructuring is a complex process and, of course, we are also encountering some difficulties, primarily subjective ones. There is still inertia of thought within our collective, as well as a certain "wait-and-see" tendency and relapses of "the infantile disorder of left-wing communism". We are actively combatting all of this.

But there are also a number of serious objective difficulties. The matter of replenishing the scientific cadres is a complex one. By decision of the Graduate Study Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Personnel Administration, the institute's graduate student program has been reduced to one person a year, which leaves practically no possibilities for training personnel in numerous important directions.

The institute's material-technical base is weak. Specifically, the requests for computing technology have still not been filled.

We have repeatedly spoken of the work of libraries serving historians. However, as yet we have seen no positive changes. The information gap is widening for our specialists, who for years do not have the opportunity of working in foreign archives and newsreel files. By

our volume and methods of obtaining scientific information, we lag behind not only most of the capitalist and socialist countries, but are even beginning to fall behind some of the developing states.

Many problems are arising in conjunction with the planned transition of the "Nauka" publishing house to the system of cost accounting. This carries a concealed threat of the fact that the institute may be forced into preparing popular scientific literature and works on intriguing and sensational subjects capable of gaining high circulation figures, while special scientific works may find themselves in the role of "stepchildren". It is a generally known fact that the true contribution to science is made by the research intended for the specialist, and not for a mass audience. In order to increase the social effectiveness of history we must undoubtedly gain access to the general reader. But it is also important for the printed publications published by "Nauka" to maintain a rational proportion between deeply scientific works (that is why our publishing house is called "Nauka" [science]) and popular scientific works.

We would also hope that the "Nauka" publishing house, the Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade] and the USSR Academy of Sciences RISO [Editorial-Publication Council] will finally resolve the problem of publishing monographic research in history by the method of the operational press. We believe that this decision would be of significant help in restructuring our science.

[Question] The 27th CPSU Congress pointed out the necessity of improving the coordination of scientific activity. This task was presented to the Academy of Sciences and its institutions. What role does the General History Institute play in the resolution of this problem?

[Answer] Our institute is the country's leading scientific institution in the field of research in general history. Its coordinative activity is directed toward the development and effective unification of the efforts of specialists from various scientific-research centers and VUZes in the study of the most current problems in this field of knowledge. The forms of coordination used by the institute are quite varied.

The institute gathers and systematizes information on the research conducted on general history in the USSR. It is becoming the base for coordination plans. Every 4-5 years we publish annotated bibliographies of the institute's works. The biobibliographical dictionary for USSR specialists in general history published in 1985 is of great importance for improving coordination. The search for reference-bibliographical information implemented by the latest methods in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Scientific Information on the Social Sciences (INION) significantly augments the overall research picture.

The institute maintains and develops ties with groups of specialists on general history which have been formed. We actively involve representatives of non-institute and VUZ science in the preparation of our works, and specifically in the multi-volume "History of Europe". We publish the works of these scientists in the pages of the institute's periodical publications and in our collections of works on specific problems. For their part, the institute's associates serve as authors in publications of other scientific institutions. Speeches presented by specialists who are not institute associates are heard and discussed on a regular basis at the institute's scientific conferences and at the meetings of the Scientific Council, and research and dissertation work of such specialists is reviewed.

We also have various means of training specialists on general history for the entire country. Here we should cite the training of graduate students in the institute's goal-oriented graduate study program, as well as the organization of visitor work programs for specialists from other institutions and cities within the institute's sectors. Our leading scientists hold consultations and present lectures at VUZes throughout the country, participate in the preparation of textbooks and reference books, and oversee the diploma projects of students at Moscow VUZes. Scientific-methodological aid to the secondary school is given through active cooperation with the Brezhnev RONO [regional section on public education] in the city of Moscow.

The Institute of General History conducts its coordinative activity in close contact with the Scientific Council on "Regularities of the Historical Development of Society and Changes in Socio-Economic Formations" which is based there.

Thus, objectively, much is being done. Nevertheless, the current state of coordination of historical research on the whole, and specifically in our field, still does not fully meet the requirements of the tasks set for historical science by the 27th CPSU Congress. The improvement of this work is hindered by the absence of a clear and precise distribution of responsibilities between the coordinating organizations. It is extremely necessary to define the spheres and forms of coordination for the USSR Academy of Sciences History Section and the scientific councils and institutes which comprise it, and to specify the status of the head institute, its sphere of competence, rights and responsibilities. We must overcome the tendency to underestimate the importance of studying general history on site, its role and formulation of knowledge and cultural horizons of the people, and especially the youth. These shortcomings were noted at the coordinative meetings of leaders of academic and other scientific institutions of historical description in the USSR, and of the union and autonomous republics which were held in June of 1986 and July of 1987. Implementing the recommendations of these meetings will make it possible to solve in a more goal-oriented manner the tasks of bringing up to date the problematics

of historical research, of improving the ideological-theoretical and methodological level, and the practical significance of historical works.

[Question] What are the results of the certification of the Institute's scientific workers and the prospects for personnel policy in light of the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum?

[Answer] The measures for certification of the institute's associates and review of their salary were performed in the Spring-Summer of 1986. However, the mechanism of certification is always in effect, and we are currently and will in the future continue this work for purposes of improving the selection and placement of the scientific cadres in accordance with their qualifications and volume and character of performed work.

In 1986 the certification of scientific associates was performed in three stages: in the sectors, in the affiliated certification commissions, and in the all-institute commission. A special commission was created for the certification of scientific-technical associates. The certification and the preliminary measures associated with it resulted in the dismissal of 9 associates, 2 persons holding more than one position, and 4 consultants. Five scientific associates were transferred to consultant duties.

According to the results of the certification, 26 percent of the associates were promoted and 4 percent were demoted in their duties.

In connection with the formation of sections, a number of the most experienced associates were appointed to the positions of section heads as a result of the certification. The overwhelming majority of doctors of sciences who had made a significant contribution to the development of science were transferred to the duties of leading scientific associates, while the young people who had worked actively and prospective candidates of sciences were promoted from the position of junior scientific associate to that of scientific associate. Differentiated salary rates were established within each category of workers. In the summer of 1986, none of the institute's associates had been certified in the duty of chief scientific associate. At the present time we are reviewing this decision, since undoubtedly there are scientists within the institute who are worthy of occupying this position.

The questions of improving the labor wage scale occupied one of the central positions. We increased the salaries of 22 percent of the workers, and reduced those of 13 percent. Sixty percent of the associates received bonuses for performing the most complex and responsible duties, and the bonuses were increased for improved level of training for over half of the scientific-technical associates. On the whole, the wages (salary plus bonus) increased for 64 percent of the associates, remained unchanged for 30 percent, and declined for 6 percent of the associates.

We have taken an important forward step in questions of improving the labor wage. However, we still cannot say that we have totally overcome the leveling effect which has occurred, nor the definite liberalism in setting wages and bonuses. We will have to perform some serious work on this matter.

The institute's party buro, trade union committee and Komsomol committee, as well as other social organizations (group for people's control, commission for the control of administration activity, war veterans' council) played an active role at all the stages of implementing measures for the transition to the new wage system. There were several meetings of the institute's labor collective at which the preparations for the certification and later its results, the new wage rates and bonuses were discussed, and the normative documents adopted. Openness and democracy in the discussion of the questions which arose and in the decision making ensured a relatively calm course of the certification procedure and the delineation of the new wages and bonuses. There was only one appeal filed in connection with the certification results, and that was turned down by a special commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Section as being unjustified.

In implementing the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we are preparing to replace the administrators of the institute's structural subsections who have reached the age of 65 with younger scientists. The replacement will be completed before the end of 1987. Our honored scientists who have been freed of their scientific- organizational duties, will be given the most favorable possibilities for continuing their creative work.

I would like to mention also the planned annual 5 percent youth orientation of the Academy of Sciences membership. Undoubtedly, this is necessary. We at the institute are giving the most persistent attention to the question of replenishing our staff with young associates. In recent years their numbers here have significantly increased. Nevertheless, I feel that a quota of annual youth orientation of the staff of associates of Academy of Sciences institutions must be set in a differentiated manner, with consideration for the peculiarities of each science and each institution. A mechanical approach to the resolution of this question will hardly improve matters. History is distinguished from the natural-science disciplines by the character of its scientific personnel and by the process of formulation of its cadres. The formulation of a scientist-historian is a more lengthy process than, say, a physicist or mathematician. A historian becomes a real professional usually only by about 45-50 years of age, since he must spend more than one decade of painstaking work to lay the groundwork for the huge mass of historical knowledge. Age 50-65 for a historian is the period of creative maturity, for a flourishing of his capacities, and to replace scientists of the older generation who are well trained and fruitfully working with young people who are only beginning to

gain knowledge and experience is not always justified. Here it is important to ensure a harmonious combination of life experience, knowledge, and youthful enthusiasm.

The question of youth orientation of the staff of Academy of Sciences research institutes bears directly on the question of personnel training. For our institute this question is very acute. Where can we find the required number of trained young people if, as we have already said, our institute's graduate student program is given only one position a year? We shouldn't count on young people completing their graduate study in VUZes, since the VUZes train specialists primarily for themselves. Also, the salaries of university scientists are higher today than those of Academy of Sciences associates. This also reduces the possibilities of attracting specialists from VUZes for work at the institute. Since the establishment of an annual quota of youth orientation of the cadres is planned for the near future, it is necessary to provide for an appropriate number of positions in the competitive graduate study program. It is impossible to solve the problem without this. I think that this question worries more than just our institute.

[Question] What is the state of development of the integrated programs and the prognostic speech entitled "Theory of the World Historical Process"? When and in what form will these documents be discussed? What role must they play in the restructuring of scientific-research work?

[Answer] We should point out that the integrated target programs, or the long-term programs, as they are officially called, since they are intended for the period to the year 2000, have emerged and been developed under the leadership of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Section after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee as one of the forms of restructuring in the field of the social sciences.

The institute and the Scientific Council on the Integrated Problem of "Regularities of Historical Development of Society and Changes in Socio-Economic Formations" have also been included in their preparation. We have been charged with the responsibility of developing an outline for the program entitled "General Regularities and Peculiarities of the Development of Socio-Economic Formations". A work group was formed for implementing this task. It included scientists from the leading scientific-research centers engaged in the theoretical problems of the world-historical process. Over 70 academic institutes and VUZes throughout the country also participated in the development of this program, and have received the initial draft of the project outline. Moreover, the institute, working in conjunction with the Scientific Council, has assisted in the compilation of other integrated programs such as: "Revolution and Social Progress" (director Academician I. I. Mints), "Problems of War and Peace in the 20th Century" (director Academician A. M. Samsonov).

On the basis of the integrated program entitled "General Regularities and Peculiarities of Development of Socio-Economic Formations", work was performed on the preparation of a predictive report entitled "Theory of the World Historical Process". After it was discussed at the primary scientific-research and university centers throughout the country, we reviewed it at a meeting of the institute's Scientific Council, and plan to publish the text of this predictive report in order to acquaint the broad scientific community with it.

The predictive report calls for concentrating the basic efforts of historian's collectives on developing the most current theoretical problems in history and facilitating the eradication of stagnant and negative phenomena which have accumulated over the past decades in the theoretical sphere. Work on its realization must become the specific contribution of scientists into the restructuring being implemented by the party and the people.

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#### AGITATOR Reviews History of Party Conferences

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[Article by A. Melnikov, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric "Questions and Answers": "Revival of the Democratic Tradition"]

[Text] "Somehow it has happened that we know less about party conferences than we do about party congresses. If you can, please tell us about them."—[Letter from] A. Alekseyev (Minsk)

Preparations are now under way in the party organizations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Its convocation was proposed by the Central Committee Politburo and approved by the membership of the Central Committee at the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenum. The plenum determined the period that the all-union conference will be in session and established standards for representation by the party organizations together with rules for the election of delegates. What exactly is the status of general party conferences, the sources of which go back to the time when the Bolshevik Party was first established? What has been its role and significance in the history and life of the party? How often have conferences been called? What have they discussed and decided? These questions are now of interest to many people.

The proposition regarding the necessity of such a form of party activity was first made in a resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) entitled "Periodic Conferences of Representatives of the Various Party Organizations." Delegates to

the congress, which took place in 1905, expressed a desire to organize conferences as often as possible for joint discussion of issues. In the beginning there were no rules or standards of any kind for organizing such conferences, nor was their authority or place in the system of the ruling party organs established.

The first RSDRP conference took place in December 1905 in Tammerfors, Finland. The participants (41 delegates) discussed urgent matters of a political nature and adopted decisions for the restoration of party unity (the party was split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks at that time), for convening a unified party congress as soon as possible, and for boycotting elections to the State Duma. The conference chairman was V. I. Lenin, who spoke current topics, including the agrarian question.

In the period before Great October there were seven RSDRP conferences in all. Following the 1905 conference, delegates convened in 1906, twice in 1907, in December 1908 (January 1909 New Style), in 1912, and in 1917.

V. I. Lenin took part in the work of all these conferences and addressed each one of them. The issues discussed at the all-Russia party conferences embraced a broad range of party tactical problems; they were involved in determining policy regarding RSDRP conduct in dealing with other parties, and they focused upon tasks of building up the party. Certain of these meetings occurred at crucial moments in the revolutionary struggle when critical decisions were made that determined both strategic aims of the party and congress resolutions.

"We can recall more than one conference in our history," noted Comrade M. S. Gorbachev in his concluding remarks at the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "which helped us at crucial stages to discern new paths and ways to achieve established objectives and which resolved problems extending far beyond the bounds of the tactical."

With reference to the conferences that have left an imprint on history, it is necessary to cite first of all the Fifth All-Russia Conference, which took place in December 1908 in Paris; the Sixth All-Russia Conference (which took place in Prague in January 1912); and the Sixth (April) All-Russia Conference of the RSDRP (Bolsheviks) in 1917.

The most substantive activity of the Fifth RSDRP Conference, which was held during a difficult period of reaction that set in following the defeat of the revolution of 1905-1907, was the struggle against the Liquidationist Mensheviks [likvidatory-mensheviki] on one side and the advocates of ultimatum or recall of representatives from the State Duma [otzobisty-ultimatisty] on the other. At stake was the struggle for the unity of the party against efforts on the part of certain groups to liquidate at all costs the existing RSDRP organization and replace it with an indeterminate association within a framework

of legality. The decision of the conference in pointing the way to preserving and strengthening the outlawed revolutionary party, and reinforcing its ties with the masses, was to become the basic tactical policy of the RSDRP right up to the revolution of 1917 in Russia.

A tremendous role in further developing and consolidating the Bolshevik Party as a new kind of party was played by the Sixth (Prague) RSDRP Conference. In terms of political content and organizational significance it was the equivalent of a party congress. The decisions taken by it served as a basis for uniting party organizations locally and for purging party ranks of opportunists. Evaluating the results of the conference, V. I. Lenin wrote to A. M. Gorkiy: "At last we have managed—in spite of the liquidationist swine—to revitalize the party and its Central Committee." (Complete Works, vol 48, p 44)

In marking the victory of the Bolsheviks over the opportunists and re-establishing central institutions for the party, the Prague conference signaled to revolutionary elements in other social democratic parties that the struggle would be decisive and implacable, leading to complete organizational separation.

The decisions of the Seventh (April) Conference of the RSDRP(b), the first to be held legally, became an important milestone in the history of the Bolshevik Party and the international labor movement. Under the direct leadership of V. I. Lenin, who spoke at the conference 30 times (in reports, speeches, comments and responses), the conference considered the basic problems of political and organizational activity by the party under the new conditions of democratic development which had come about as a result of the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution. The decisions taken by the conference were based on positions taken in the celebrated April theses of Lenin, which outlined the party's course for turning the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The conference documents armed the party with a specific program in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. In terms of content, ideas, amount of work accomplished, and significance of decisions taken, the April conference of the RSDRP(b) was the equivalent of a party congress.

Eleven all-party conferences were held in the period following Great October. At the Eighth All-Russia Party Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RKP(b)] a provision regarding all-party conferences was included for the first time in the Party Rules, and thereafter conferences became a standard feature of party activity. They were held regularly until 1926, and in 1921 they were even held twice (in May and December).

The conferences that were held during intervals between party congresses served to supplement and make more specific the basic directives worked out at the congresses as they addressed issues of vital importance for the party, the country, and the fate of the socialist system.

The Tenth All-Russia Conference of the RKP(b), held in May 1921, proved to be a significant landmark. The center of attention for the delegates was Lenin's report "On the Food Tax," which unfolded the fundamental tenets of the New Economic Policy (NEP) as adopted by the Tenth Party Congress, while unmasking bourgeois and opportunistic interpretations of the NEP and criticizing incorrect representations of the nature of the new policy. The principal task of party policy in general, and of its political and economic policy in particular, Lenin declared, was to establish proper relations between the working class and the peasants. "We are counting on the class relationship," Lenin indicated, "and we view it as essential that the proletariat lead the peasantry, in spite of everything, in the direction of communism." (Vol 43, p 329-330) To the question of how long the NEP would last, without specifying the number of years he responded by saying that it was "in earnest and for a long time."

The successful implementation of the NEP made it possible in a short time to restore the war-ravaged economy. Then, in turn, the party faced the tasks of the socialist reconstruction of industry and agriculture and of implementing Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in the USSR. Determining paths to socialism became the key issue on the agenda of the 14th RKP(b) Conference convened in April 1925. At that time a bitter struggle was being waged by the party with the Trotskyites, who denied the possibility of achieving the victory of socialism in the USSR without a victorious revolution in other European countries. The conference resolutely declared itself to be opposed to these assertions of the Trotskyites. Its documents focused attention on two aspects of the question of achieving the victory of communism—the domestic and the international. All conditions, it was emphasized, were available in our country for the complete victory of communism. This victory could not be conclusive, however, so long as the USSR was encircled by hostile forces, and there was a persisting danger therefore of imperialist intervention and the restoration of capitalism. For socialism to achieve ultimate victory in the USSR it was necessary to wage successfully the proletarian revolution throughout the country.

Giving concrete expression to Lenin's plan for the building of socialism, the conference outlined a series of tasks for building the economy and practical steps to create the conditions for the country's industrialization. The resolution "On Cooperation" set forth specific ways to develop all kinds of joint labor cooperation—agricultural, credit, business and consumer cooperation; it provided for strengthening the material base of cooperation and developing its organizational structure.

The 15th All-Union Conference of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [VKP(b)], which was held from 23 October to 3 November in 1926, has a prominent place in our party's history. It took note of the fact that the enormous job of restoring the national economy had been completed under the guidance of the party, and it laid the

groundwork for undertaking the tasks at the new stage of socialist construction. The resolution emphasized that the industrialization of the country was impossible without strict and unwavering adherence to a regimen of saving. In posing this problem the conference emphasized that saving should not be achieved at the expense of the vital interests of the working class. It likewise rejected the contention of the opposition that industrialization should be achieved through taxing the peasants and raising prices, a policy that would have led inevitably to the disruption of agriculture and consequently to a sharp decline in the rate of industrialization.

The next conferences after the 15th were held at three-year intervals—the 16th in 1929 and the 17th in 1932.

The role and authority of conferences, their organization and function, was set forth in detail for the first time by the 18th VKP(b) Congress in 1939. A section of the Party Rules entitled "Highest Organs of the Party," as approved by this congress, stated that all-union party conferences were to be convened during intervals between party congresses and no less than once a year. It was established that delegates to the all-union party conferences would be chosen by plenums of oblast and kray party committees and party central committees of union republics. Election procedures and rules of conference representation were to be set by the VKP(b) Central Committee. Decisions of the all-union party conferences were subject to ratification by the Central Committee.

The 18th VKP(b) Conference, which took place 15-20 February, passed resolutions concerning urgent questions of developing industry and transport amid the rising danger of war. Party organizations were focusing their attention on concrete tasks for improving the leadership of major sectors of the national economy upon which the strengthening of the country's defenses primarily depended.

All-party conferences were not convened following the 18th Conference. This was originally attributed to wartime conditions. Thereafter, subjective reasons were given: Insufficient attention had been devoted to the strict observance of Leninist principles and standards of party life; there had been a failure of collective leadership; the functions of elected party organs had been reduced. The situation was influenced, in particular, by the fact that a directive on conducting all-party conferences was completely excluded from the Party Rules adopted by the 19th CPSU Congress (1952) and the 22d CPSU Congress (1961). And although it was once again inserted in the Party Rules at the 23d CPSU Congress, the attitude that prevailed regarding all-party conferences remained unchanged for a long time. Unfortunately, the practical affairs of party organs continued to be

under the sway of authoritarian evaluations and judgments, which came to be regarded as inviolable truths subject only to explication. Intra-party democracy did not evolve as it should have, and collective opinion was little taken into account.

The April (1985) CPSU Central Committee plenum, in courageously and resolutely evaluating the regressive tendencies and the absence of Leninist principles of operation, opened up the way to reorganizing the entire social structure and developing democratic processes in all aspects of Soviet society. The decision to convene the 19th All-Union Conference on 28 June 1988 is further evidence of the restoration of Leninist democratic traditions. Preparation for the conference will help to invigorate the activities of all committees and CPSU organs, close party ranks, and provide new incentive to the task of restructuring.

The July (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee established the rules of representation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There will be one delegate for every 3,780 party members, and the delegates will be chosen by closed (secret) ballot at plenums of the party central committees of union republics and the party committees of oblasts and krays. It was determined that delegates from the communist parties of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan will be chosen at party oblast committee plenums. The CPSU Central Committee plenum further specified that delegates to the conference from party organizations in units of the Soviet Army and Navy stationed at home and along the borders will be chosen at plenums of the central committees of the union republics and of the party committees of krays and oblasts along with the other delegates. Communists in the party organizations of units of the Soviet Army and Navy stationed abroad will choose delegates to the All-Union Conference at conferences of their respective military units. Election of all delegates is scheduled to take place in April and May 1988.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will undoubtedly become a major political event in the life of the party and country. The following issues await its consideration: (1) progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, basic results of the first half of the 12th Five-Year Plan, and party organizational tasks in expanding the restructuring process; (2) measures for the further democratization in the life of the party and society.

As was noted at the July CPSU Central Committee plenum, a comprehensive review of these issues will make it possible to garner the experience gained by the party since the 23d Congress, and to evaluate the progress of Soviet society regarding basic tendencies of economic and social development; to assess progress in bringing about radical reforms in managing the economy; and to determine the degree of participation of party organizations and other governmental and economic organs in the restructuring process.

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### Baltic History Viewed in Light of Recent Demonstrations

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[Article by Doctor of Philosophy M. Titma, professor and vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association, and Candidate of Philosophy A. Vakhemetsa, associate at the Institute of Party History under the Estonian Communist Party CC: "The Truth of History Is the Truth of Life"]

[Text] Our society is experiencing a turning point in our history. The changes are precisely what are forcing us to take a close look at our reality, "to check our timepiece," to think carefully about whether our reference points are in order. This accounts for the particular importance of political sophistication as one of the essential guarantees of continued democratization.

Just what is political sophistication? Is a qualitatively new level possible without the reality of social and historical vision free of illusions, narrow-minded myths and distortions? A distorted concept of the past results in an incorrect perception of the present, and it is impossible for people to have a developed self-awareness and difficult to understand the fairly variegated picture of today's moods, illusions, fears and hopes without a correct analysis of the path we have traveled. The new political thinking demands profound knowledge and an understanding of the nature of the processes occurring, an understanding which conforms to the new realities and the demands of the people. A fearless Marxist analysis is needed in all things, even the most complex aspects of our lives.

### Into Whose Hands Does the Hush-Up Play?

The policy of glasnost has demonstrated with absolute clarity that a departure from serious, competent discussion is only detrimental and is a source of incorrect concepts, even fertile soil for open political demagogery.

It is a fact, after all, that until recently a scholastic, simplified model of the historical process predominated in the works of our historians. The period of the building of socialism was generally depicted as an exuberant procession from one victory to another, with only periodic mention of the difficulties and errors.

Even the class approach was interpreted in a straight line, and the lack of the necessary dialectics in the analysis of history was justified by the social need to simplify the struggle, in which everything must always be

clear: Who is on our side, and who is the enemy? And so, only black and white were used, without any hint of the existence of different shades.

Simplification, like the conflict between simple human perception of real life and its official depiction, can have the most unpredictable consequences. Time and the people's memory register the truth one way or another. And how is the lack of information filled in? With what strange infestations of rumors, conjectures and interpretations? Particularly when it comes to the minority peoples, where everything is "shut in," where events and personalities of the past are perceived with maximum specificity?

The history of the Baltic Soviet republics is no "exception to the rule." The specific shaping of Soviet power and the establishment of socialism in this area has not yet been adequately described in our historiography. Only recently we were still trying (and not without success) to ignore the refined tactics of the ideological enemy, trying not to notice the political backwardness of a part of the population. We permitted ourselves to look at it from on high. The short-sightedness of this approach is obvious today.

Let us take a look at the events of 23 August in Tallin and other capitals of Baltic republics from this perspective. We need to understand them if only in order to prevent a repetition of such spontaneous demonstrations and public statements of erroneous, even hostile, opinions on such key moments in history as the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia, its inclusion as part of the USSR and its subsequent development.

There is no question that the "acts" of 23 August, on the anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact, were inspired by various "voices" who attempt to exploit everything, including glasnost. What were they guided by in this case? What were their goals? Even the most naive anticommunist understands that it is unrealistic to hope to destabilize the USSR to an extent which would make it possible to restore capitalism. This was not the motive. It was "to point to the event in the Baltic area" and cause a stir which would influence world public opinion, in which certain positive changes have occurred with respect to our nation and its policy. We believe that the Western secret services also had another tactical objective: to complicate the situation in the Baltic area, the peoples of which, like all the peoples of the USSR, supported the restructuring and the course of democratization.

On the other hand, the fact that a certain number of people could be drawn into the events of 23 August is also due to our own blunders. First of all, to the old habit of hushing up a "touchy" fact of history, the habit from the past of being in no hurry to go to the people and explain the essence of things. The necessary work was initiated after a great delay, when the essentially hostile and nationally tinged demonstrations had already

occurred. This is not the time to speak of the "wisdom of hindsight," however, but a time to think about what evoked this close interest in a diplomatic document almost 50 years old. What current problems in comprehending the path traveled underlie this interest? We turn to history for the answer.

#### What do the Facts Tell Us?

History is not predetermined. It encounters bifurcations, variations and alternatives. Although history is determined by certain laws, it is shaped by people themselves.

And the path to socialism was not an easy one for the Baltic peoples. Soviet power was overthrown in Latvia and Estonia following the defeat of the proletariat in the civil war of 1918-1920. Exploiting national sentiments (there had been no statehood in Latvia or Estonia prior to this), under the banner of independence and--let us not forget--on the bayonets of the Entente, the bourgeoisie came to power. "Under the yoke of independence," is how Bolshevik V. Kingisepp described the bourgeois government. Soviet Russia recognized the independence of the new bourgeois states, just as it had recognized the sovereignty of Soviet republics in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania not long before. It was V.I. Lenin who initiated the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920, under which the independence of the Estonian Democratic Republic was recognized.

On the eve of World War II, on 2 October 1939, Estonia and the USSR concluded a pact of mutual assistance, and with the consent of the bourgeois government Red Army units were deployed at bases in Estonia.

We must resolutely reject a simplified interpretation when we explain this fact of history. The situation in the world was extremely complex. The winds of war were felt more and more clearly in the climate of Europe. It was clear to every sober-minded person that Estonia (with a population of 1.1 million in 1939) faced the choice of being allied with Germany or with the USSR. Even the Western protectors rejected Estonia in favor of Germany, a fact borne out by the maritime agreement concluded between Germany and Great Britain in 1935. Finland also refused to sign a pact with Estonia. And so, talk about the West's worrying about the fate of the Baltic area is just verbiage for the ignorant.

The Estonian bourgeoisie also understood this. K. Pyats, President of the bourgeois republic, tore to bits an order prepared by militant anti-Soviets, which resolved the dispute in favor of good-neighborly relations with the USSR. The first Red Army units to arrive at Estonian bases in October 1939 were greeted with flowers. The people saw them primarily as protectors against Germany's aggressive aspirations.

Relations subsequently grew somewhat more complicated. The diplomatic tactlessness of the Stalinist foreign policy contributed to this. Attempts by the pro-German part of the Estonian bourgeoisie to ignore or violate the pact with the USSR failed, however.

The pact concluded between Estonia and the USSR and the presence of Red Army units on Estonian territory objectively enabled progressive political forces to intensify the struggle to restore Soviet power, which had been proclaimed back in 1918 by the Estonian Labor Commune. This too was not a simple process, however. The small Communist Party of Estonia, which suffered considerably during the years of massive repression at the end of the '30s, could not by itself head the struggle to restore Soviet power, of course. This could be done only by a broad popular front of all the progressive forces, including participation by the liberal-bourgeois opposition.

Popular physician and writer Y. Vares-Barbarus, a prominent liberal, headed up a new, democratic government in June 1940. K. Pyats, President of the bourgeois republic, signed the act appointing him Prime Minister of Estonia. He also signed the act dissolving the bourgeois parliament. It is thus apparent that doubts as to the legality of Soviet authority in Estonia have no foundation and are baseless even from the standpoint of bourgeois jurisprudence. What we have is a legally consolidated succession of power.

Estonia's newly elected parliament, during the elections for which the popular front received 92 percent of the vote (the people cast a majority of their votes for socialism), asked that Estonia be accepted as a part of the Soviet Union. The USSR Supreme Soviet satisfied the request. Vares-Barbarus became the first President of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The historical causality of this event is indisputable. The historical process subsequently began "to be rushed" and the class struggle "to be accelerated" in Estonia, however, which led to extensive sociopolitical excesses and human tragedies. They were intensified also by the fact that the acts of repression were refracted through the prism of the national question in the minds of the Estonians. This is also what caused the emigration from Estonia at the end of the war. Furthermore, many of the tragic events in the confrontation with the "forest brothers" could have been avoided if not for the voluntarist nudging and forcing of the collectivization process.... A certain part of the Estonians who had welcomed the events of 1940 in Estonia had doubts about where their sympathies lay following the unjustified repression. Active anti-Soviet positions even emerged.

The metamorphosis is as disappointing as it is explainable. In his work "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," V.I. Lenin pointed out the almost universal literacy of the Estonians back at the end of the last century. This accounted for the numerous social-democratic organizations (the Estonian Communist Party

actually traces its history back to 1904). V.I. Lenin's regard for the Estonian revolutionaries is well known. He is the one who included Revel (Tallin) in the plan for the October Armed Uprising. We recall that Estonian P. Lazimir was a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee in Petrograd in October 1917, that a battalion of Estonian Red Guardsmen commanded by Ya. Polvadre was assigned the mission of protecting Smolnyy in the spring of 1918, that Estonian Communist regiments took part in key battles of the civil war in the Ukraine, on the Volga, in the Crimea....

### With Open Eyes

And so, the need is upon us to get to the bottom of all the contradictions, because there is no alternative to a courageous, honest approach to the past. M.S. Gorbachev's report "October and the Restructuring: the Revolution Continues" leaves no room for any other interpretations. And this brings up another important fact relating most directly to the ideological situation in the republic. In our opinion, it must be a matter not just of acknowledging the errors of the past but also of thoroughly analyzing them.

A small nation objectively always perceives the past within the context of national relations. Gross violations of socialist legality and distortions of the Leninist national policy during the Cult of the Personality were latently linked with the Soviet system in the mind of the people (even if only a part of the people). And the errors and excesses, even out-and-out crimes, from which the people of various nationalities suffered, were perceived in the consciousness of the Estonians as actions directed against the Estonians. Clearly a distorted perception, but one which was echoed in everyday thinking.

If we stick strictly to the historical facts, however, it will become clear that even then there was no repression directed expressly against the Estonians. After all, the Russians suffered not a bit less during the years of the Cult of the Personality. This is why a critical analysis of that period in the history of the national republics and complete honesty are extremely important for increasing faith in the restructuring.

The patterns in the perception of social reality and the habit of viewing it through squinted eyes prevented both our scholars and our journalists from taking a close look at the alien structures which had accumulated in stuffy corners of the mass awareness. It is no secret that there are people in the republic oriented toward the values of the Western way of life. While such orientations were carefully concealed in the past, they are openly displayed today. What to do about them is another matter. We cannot hide our heads in the sand and pretend that such attitudes do not exist at all, but there is at the same time nothing in particular to fear. Extremist-minded individuals took part in the events of 23 August in Tallin. This

is an obvious fact. However, a serious approach to the matter requires that we look closely at what lies behind the obvious, at the real difficulties which give rise to such extremism. Particularly since a national question does exist in the republic, and problems exclusively of an economic nature take on also a national tinge.

And we have an extremely urgent question. How does one act in this complex situation? A great deal depends upon the focused efforts of local party organs, their ability to get a feel for the situation and their capacity for flexible political work. Frankly speaking, one could not say that the reaction of the local press to the demonstrations of 23 August were right. It added fuel to the fire with its evasiveness and innuendos. And this only plays into the hands of secret services of the West. It suits them perfectly when we refrain from competent debate, struggle and open discussion. Unfortunately, many of those who are expected to conduct the ideological struggle in the republic seem not to have the needed competence or authority or the proper preparation.

It is clear even to the nonspecialist that the problem of improving national relations cannot be isolated from economic and social problems, that it must resolved in conjunction with other managements tasks raised by the restructuring. Most of the confusion reflected in the minds of the people, however, is clearly a result of outmoded management methods and obsolete administration with its leveling, medial approach to the economy and social policy, which does not take into account the specific nature of each region in the nation. This medial approach, leveling and the absence of differentiation are a direct result of over-centralization.

Take the language problem. The need to master the Russian language as the language of international intercourse is not doubted. We live in a multinational state. But for most of the Russians and Ukrainians living in the republic Estonia has also become their native region. They frequently remain ignorant of the culture and history of this corner of the homeland, however. In order to understand the situation, one must bear in mind the fact that with the extensive, expenditure-based economy, the republic's rates of growth were maintained for a long time following the war by creating new jobs, and this led to mechanical growth of the population. Those moving to the republic did not have to know the Estonian language, however. This cultural need was never stimulated. What is more, no one even raised the issue of training Estonian-language teachers for the Russian schools. This one-sided approach to the bilingualism issue objectively had to create psychological tensions. And one cannot correct the situation with appeals alone. The only solution lies in painstaking and goal-oriented work in two directions. This will unquestionably enlarge the field of application of both languages and increase freedom of choice as to which language to use in this or that specific situation.

And there is another situation which, despite the fact that it is so obvious, is not receiving adequate attention. The indigenous population of the Baltic republics have a relatively higher level of life and labor traditions due to certain historical social conditions. The new jobs were filled by people arriving from other areas of the nation. The acute problem of marginality and adaptation to the new conditions (It is encountered, as we know, also in Central Russia when native rural residents move to the city. Or take the situation of the "limited (limitchiki)" in Moscow.) becomes even more acute in this situation. In addition to everything else, it is also a fact that a proper effort is not being made to help the new arrivals settle into life in the new area or to overcome the social and cultural instability. Aware and purposeful adaptation could improve their sense of social well-being and have a positive effect on the process of real internationalization of our life.

In order for this process to develop fruitfully we must also think about how to overcome the tendency toward national insularity. It emerged during the period of stagnation, when the preconditions for a striving for cultural and spiritual insularity secretly matured behind a facade of verbal assurances. The concept of unity of interests and the sense of commonality were perceptibly obscured, and there emerged a tendency to view problems in our development exclusively from the republic standpoint. This was despite the fact that every sober-minded person would have to understand the harmfulness of this position. The limited and provincial thinking which took shape during the years of stagnation prevents one from looking at the restructuring tasks with open eyes, tasks which all of our nation's peoples must accomplish jointly.

Unfortunately, such attitudes are to be found also among the creative intelligentsia. Our writers avoid publishing in the All-Union press as Chingiz Aytmatov or Ion Drutse, for example, do. Or take this fact. A popular republic magazine published an article on bilingualism. There is not doubt as to the need for a scientific formulation of this problem. The polemical overreach in the presentation of the arguments took the author to the point of tendentiousness, however. The bilingual situation needs to be seriously studied, but tendentiousness is not the best counselor. And take the question of joint education of Estonian and Russian children. All of the findings of sociological studies indicate that it is time to take a purposeful and sensible approach to the development of the sense of commonality and unity of general Union interests. These are difficult problems, but they must be addressed in a calm and well-conceived manner in the course of the restructuring. No one is going to do this for us.

#### Dependence Plus Responsibility

Another problem typical of many national republics is also having an effect. The postwar policy of giving preference to the outlying national districts in the distribution of resources not only encouraged immigration

but also produced unbalanced commodity circulation. Social justice calls for consumption to conform to the contribution made to the common storehouse. In other words, every republic should "live within its means." We are still somehow timid and hesitant when we speak about the fact, for example, that the Siberians, who extract oil for the nation, or the residents of Central Russia encounter conditions which could hardly be called socially just, if we base this on the Russian Federation's contribution to the common Union stocks. The need to balance the exchange and give priority to the RSFSR as the foundation of the process of internationalization is increasingly acutely felt.

In addition to everything else, this policy of past years produced also a "flowering" of local dependency. It is clear that the establishment of balanced commodity circulation will force the leaders of every republic to operate on the basis of local resources and to actually answer to "their" populations for either improvement or deterioration in the standard of living. We "dump" everything on Moscow today, claiming that we are not to blame, that we are forced to do what we do by Moscow. If there is a shortage of meat, the suppliers are to blame. If there are no shoes, the finger is also pointed at the center. The habit of charging "daddy" with responsibility is deeply rooted in all areas of our life, including our practical relations.

The restructuring of the system of regional management of the economy, which has long been in need of modernization, will help to overcome many of these difficulties. Judge for yourselves. Different regions have different natural, social, economic and cultural conditions, but the same approach is taken. And the identical measures produce totally different results. Estonia has rocky soil, while the Ukraine has chernozem, for example. The

norms set for wear and tear on the agricultural equipment are the same, however. Or compare labor productivity in Estonia and Tajikistan. There were different starting points and different historical periods of conversion to large-scale industry. From whom should we demand more? Naturally, the comparison criteria must differ! We believe that the restructuring of the Estonian economy and the conversion to complete economic self-sufficiency at the regional level would make it possible for the economy to be more productive.

The radical formulation of the question of republic economic self-sufficiency is debatable, of course. And of course the matter will not stand for haste or a lot of fuss. This path seems promising to us, however. In addition to everything else, it will force local leaders to answer for the actual economic results, while the people will understand the real causes of specific problems.

The current situation is new to everyone and demands a totally new way of thinking. It sometimes seems that there are more questions than answers, that the load is so heavy it cannot be budged.... We are learning to debate and make political decisions in a situation of democracy, however, in which policy for the sake of the people is developing into policy implemented through the will of the people. This calls also for patience toward the will of the minority, toward the right of each Soviet nation to actually express and defend its interests the same as common Union interests. This right entails also enormous responsibility, however. Extremism is indisputably the very worst companion in this matter.

The new political thinking demands a qualitatively new level of political sophistication and convincing, well-based consideration of the real facts of history and the real state of the social psychology of each of our nation's peoples.

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**Ways for ESSR Pentecostalists to Get Exit Visas  
Outlined**

*18000116 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 25 Sep 87 p 3*

[Article by A. Vasilyev: "Persecuted?"]

[Text] There has recently been a sharp intensification of extremist anti-Soviet moods among some of the believers—the Pentecostals.

The set of claims is traditional: the state is interfering in religious relations, is prohibiting the spread of religion, is persecuting a faith, is not permitting people to leave the country and thereby preventing them from joining their brothers in the faith, etc.

We are not going to refute all of these arguments. We will review just one—their departure from the USSR.

First of all, a little information.

Christian Pentecostals of the evangelical faith are a religious organization, the basis of whose dogma is the myth "about the descent of the holy spirit" to the apostles on the 50th day after the resurrection of Christ. This Protestant movement arose in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century and then quickly spread in Europe, including in Russia.

The dogma of Pentecostalism pays much attention to a mystical association with God. In this connection, a special role is assigned to the "holy spirit": it is believed that a person worthy of God can become an instrument of the "spirit that has descended upon him." Such a "descent" takes place under the conditions of extreme religious exultation reaching the point of mental derangement. It has happened that people have been admitted to psychiatric hospitals immediately after prayer meetings. The Pentecostal sect was prohibited in the Soviet Union in the 1930's but communities continued to act illegally.

In 1945, some of the Pentecostals united with evangelical Christian Baptists—a registered organization—and thus became legal. The rest of those of the same faith continued to operate underground. In this activity, the communities did not, of course, limit themselves merely to professing their faith but were also actively involved in political problems.

The Pentecostals do not have a united organization that would bring together all believers in the territory of our country. Each community exists autonomously. These, however, tend to be groups of believers, each of which unites around its own leader. The number of believers in the groups changes all the time. Each leader strives to attract as many believers as he can. Competition.

The attitude of the state toward this sect changed in the 1970's. The communities of Pentecostals gradually began to register themselves. Official groups of Pentecostals also appeared in Estonia in Tallinn, Pyarnu, Narva and Kokhtla-Yarve.

But illegal groups remained, primarily made up of believers that came to Estonia from other regions of the country. Their slogan: "Only a persecuted faith can be real." But it became more and more difficult for the leaders of the illegal groups to rely on cases of "persecution." The changing attitude of the state toward Pentecostals took away the basis for such reasoning....

And suddenly there is again a flare-up of extremist attitudes among the illegal Pentecostals—more and more frequent demonstrative attempts to leave the USSR. This time, their claim is this: "We want to leave the USSR for religious reasons. They will not let us out!"

Is that the case? There are three means of leaving the USSR legally. First, a state, public or religious organization sends you to handle official business. The Pentecostals have no such organization, not to mention the fact that it is believers from illegal groups who are striving to leave. Consequently, this means does not apply for Pentecostals.

The second means is that of a departure for private matters. Let us turn to the documents.

Decree No 1064 of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 28 August 1986 states: "Soviet citizens, foreign citizens and persons without citizenship regardless of their origin, social and property position, race, nationality, sex, education, language or religious affiliation may enter or leave the USSR for private matters."

There are, of course, articles in this decree that prohibit or disallow definite categories of citizens from leaving the USSR for private matters. But Pentecostal believers, about whom we are talking here, do not fall within any of these categories.

I turned to Kharald Tupits, deputy director of the OVIR [Department for Visas and Registration of Foreign Citizens] of the ESSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for an explanation.

"It is essential to have an invitation to leave for private matters, that is, with retention of Soviet citizenship (an exception is a departure for Israel, with which the USSR has no diplomatic relations). Previously, in reviewing a petition for departure, attention was paid only to an invitation from the closest relatives: mother, father, daughter or son. Today it is possible to leave having received an invitation from a sister or brother, other relatives or even simply from acquaintances. The approach is different in each case, of course.

"An invitation is not merely a formality. In accordance with bilateral international agreements, an invitation attested by the authorities of the country from which it is sent gives, in the first place, definite guarantees that the Soviet citizen will be afforded normal living conditions, although initially someone will look after him. In the second place, this is also to some extent a guarantee that the authorities of that country will not hinder his entry.

"Some of the Pentecostal citizens about whom you are talking presented the necessary invitations and the OVIR is now drawing up the documents for their departure. But the majority did not present all of the necessary documents and it is only for this reason that their petitions to leave the USSR were not reviewed."

Why did those who so want to leave our country not get invitations? Were they unable to? Then who needs them there? Did they not want to?

And the final means of leaving the USSR is an application to the ESSR Supreme Soviet for deprivation of citizenship. But no such applications have been received from Pentecostals.

The conclusion is more than obvious: those who are making noise about the impossibility of leaving the USSR precisely for religious reasons want to obtain proof of instances of "persecution" for their faith, which is so necessary for them now, when mutual understanding is being established with believers and when there is a search for points of contact. In this way, the members of the sect are trying to earn political capital in the eyes of those abroad who are not averse to compromising the changes that are gaining strength in our country.

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**OGONEK Interviews Minister of Culture  
Zakharov**

18000119 Moscow OGONEK in Russian  
No 45, Nov 87 pp 18029

[Interview by Vladimir Shakhidzhanyan with USSR Minister of Culture Vasiliy Georgiyevich Zakharov: "The Horizons of Culture"]

[Excerpts] If you analyze the mail—and the last issue of the "I Want to Ask" column received over 3,000 telegrams, letters and postcards—you will discover many sore spots in the development of our culture: They are not asking the minister about what is good, but about what is bad, and why it is bad.

We did not show about 300 letters and telegrams we received addressed to V.G. Zakharov; these were questions about the movies, TV, book publishing, trade and advertising—which do not pertain to the USSR Ministry of Culture.

Before our conversation began, Vasiliy Georgiyevich Zakharov placed on the table a large packet of envelopes with letters from the readers sorted out, and replies to them...

[Question] One of the telegrams contained the question, "Is it possible to plan intellectual life?" If you understand this as the conceptual development of the sphere, then one cannot get along without certain standards, without planning; just as one cannot get along without continuous analysis of the state of affairs.

[Answer] The sphere of the cultural institutions today: that is an entire, a vast sector. Its horizons range from the problems of small libraries at rural clubs and traveling exhibits, to the organization of artistic tours abroad, to the most remote African country, and to holding mass celebrations in stadiums...

The state institutions for music and the fine arts, for preservation of monuments, for operating museums, and cultural-educational institutions—all those are ours. We go to Gosplan, the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other levels of authority with proposals for developing Soviet culture, while coordinating our work with other departments and social organizations.

[Question] You have been USSR Minister of Culture for more than a year. Where do you see real possibilities for positive changes in culture?

[Answer] Above all we must ensure fulfillment of a great number of very important resolutions adopted recently on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee on accelerated development of the material base of culture and the arts, and on improving conditions for the activities of cultural societies. "The Residual Principle," with respect to culture, is still making itself known strongly, especially in the rural localities. Serious

changes are also required in our cadre policy. We need not only organizers, but masters in their fields—those who know about theater arts, about music, about library science and cultural-educational work. It is namely from these positions that we approved the ministers of culture of the Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

The build-up of the cadres began with the staff of the ministry itself. Presently, for example, a professional composer became the deputy minister in charge of music, and a playwright was made deputy minister in charge of the theater.

Unfortunately, we still have many people who are not professionals. The directors of many philharmonic societies do not have a basic musical educational. And theater directors—they are quite often people who are far removed from the arts. What happens quite often in the localities? A person was unable to cope with party or economic work, and he is "sent off packing" to culture. Forgive me for using those words, but that is actually so: they are made administrators of museums, exhibit halls, philharmonic societies, theaters...

**Letters**

[Question] How many professional artists are there in the USSR? (Gorokhov, Yu.P., Leningrad)

[Answer] There are 73,000 artists in all in the USSR. Of these, 24,000 are under 30 years of age. Nearly 3,000 are at retirement age.

[Question] The Leningrad city ispolkom does not support an initiative to create an amateur association which would provide education in the culture of relations with domestic animals. How can that be? (Kamashko, Leningrad)

[Answer] The existence of such an amateur association is justified. It can be established in accordance with the Statute on Amateur Associations and Clubs According to Interests, approved in 1985 by the USSR Ministry of Culture and other interested departments. An example of such is the Fauna Club in Moscow. For assistance in resolving the given question, we recommend appealing to the Main Administration on Culture at the Leningrad city ispolkom.

[Question] Will the question of holding more than one office at a time be resolved for artistic workers in independent collectives? (Lukyanov, Kazan)

[Answer] The question on permission for artistic workers in independent collectives to hold more than one office is being resolved by the appropriate departments. The USSR Ministry of Culture has already submitted its proposals to USSR Goskomtrud.

[Question] Will workers at rural Palaces of Culture receive a pay raise? (Yemikov, A.I.)

[Answer] A wage increase for all categories of cultural workers is expected in November of this year according to regions defined by the government.

[Question] Several years ago I graduated from the Choir Director Department of the Moscow School of Music imeni Ippolitova-Ivanova. Now I cannot find work in my specialty. (Zvereva, Ye.N., Vidno, Moscow Oblast)

[Answer] The writer will be invited to the USSR Ministry of Culture to resolve the question.

[Question] I propose raising the wage ceiling for theater ticket distributors to more than 200 rubles, and at the same time I express my confidence that operatic performances will play before full houses. (Gorelov, V.Ye., Dushanbe)

[Answer] It seems to me that if the theater and its soloists are not up to par, even highly-paid ticket distributors will not provide a full house, inasmuch as wherever it is interesting there is always sufficient audience. Nevertheless, the question of changing the ceiling for this category of workers has been placed on the agenda and, apparently, will be favorably decided.

[Question] When will the wages, the workload, and vacation time for conservatory concert masters be reexamined? (A group of concert masters at the Kazan Conservatory, Kazan)

[Answer] Conservatory concert masters will receive a wage increase in the years 1991-1992. The questions on changing the workload and increasing the length of vacations are being examined at the present time.

[Question] Who and how, Vasiliy Georgiyevich, trains cultural leaders? This question was not asked directly by the readers, but I would venture to suggest that it is of interest to many.

[Answer] Until recently no one was occupied with this. Presently, the Economics Department of GITIS [State Order of Labor Red Banner Theatrical Arts Institute imeni A.V. Lunacharskiy] is providing an education to future theater directors. Serious refresher training for cultural workers is being offered at the All-Union Institute for Increasing the Skills of Cultural Workers. But this, of course, is a drop in the bucket. In the near future we will decide how to provide professional training to cultural leaders.

[Question] Culture and money—how are they combined? What is your opinion in this regard?

[Answer] It is a painful problem. Culture is in the budget. Most theaters receive state subsidies. We are not able to earn money. We are fettered by various instructions,

regulations and orders. Our Ministry of Finance—that's a paradox!—has more rights in the area of culture than we. For example, there is a decision of 1963 on the fact that we have the right to lodge foreign actors in rooms costing not more than 30 rubles a day (For foreigners the allowance for a hotel is different than for Soviet citizens). But for this money we are given a room in one of the hotels near the Exhibit of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy, with the toilet in the corridor. We are writing special letters with the request to rescind this decision, for the prices have changed over the 25 years, and in practice we are forced to operate under a decision from the year 1963; we continually receive complaints for violations.

The Baltimore Symphony Orchestra came to us. It is embarrassing to say that we were unable to put them up for the night—it turned out there were no hotel rooms. We placed our order six months in advance; then two days before they tell us they will not receive them at the hotel. We are talking about our country's prestige; and they tell us, there are no rooms.

Conductors have appealed to me. We have no incentive, they say, to travel abroad with our orchestras. When a conductor travels abroad with his orchestra, he practically has to live on his per-diem subsistence allowance. There are no honoraria, or they are very small. But if Yevgeniy Svetlanov conducts the London Symphony Orchestra, he is paid many times more for one concert. Why do such "variant readings" take place, no one can say; and, worst of all, they do not want to change this injustice!

In the course of a year we have examined and rescinded more than 700 (previously adopted) decisions, orders and instructions which established a maximum, forbade, or limited. But we do not have the right to rescind the decisions of the Ministry of Finance! This pertains also to the clause which provides that every trip to a capitalist country for any collective must be profitable. And we say, Let them show a profit in the amount for all trips abroad; but it is not possible to demand this of each trip. A symphony orchestra travels abroad, and a soloist, who can himself give 30 concerts, and profit. Is there a difference??

For some reason it is believed that the financial organs know everything better than the cultural organs: not only what prices to establish for tickets, and how much subsidy to give various theaters, but also how much to pay musicians for performing one work, and how much for another.

[Question] I have heard, Vasiliy Georgiyevich, that the Bolshoy Theater is an especial concern of the Ministry?

[Answer] It is, I believe, truly of special concern. Not long ago we had a talk with the leading artists of Bolshoy Theater. We discussed what must be done in order to make every performance a genuine tour de force, and how to raise the spirit of creativity at the theater...

[Question] Vasiliy Georgiyevich, where did you acquire your passion for music? Are you from a family of musicians?

[Answer] No I'm from a worker family. Father had a good ear. He loved music, and often told us about performances in the Mariinskiy Theater; as a small boy I learned who Chaliapin and Slobinov were. I came to love music in childhood, and the passion just stayed with me. My favorite singer is Sergey Yakovlevich Lemeshev. From the other kinds of arts I am chiefly fond of paintings, and most of all, the realists.

[Question] Do you often attend the theater and concerts?

[Answer] Ordinarily not less than once or twice a week.

[Question] It would be interesting to learn what you like to read.

[Answer] Right now I'm reading mostly periodicals, especially the literary magazines. I find Viktor Astafyev and Valentin Rasputin interesting, as well as Chingiz Aytmatov, with all his contradictions. From the Lenigradites I follow the creativity of Daniil Granin. I read a lot of books about art. Not long ago I read the letters of Boris Khaykin. He was an amazing figure, director, and person. From literary memoirs, I am re-reading with interest the letters of Mikhail Yuryev, and the reminiscences of Lemeshev. There is an example of an extremely modest person! He tells that he used to suffer all the time, doubting that many did not like him. Simply amazing!

[Question] Do you often meet with cultural figures at the ministry.

[Answer] Often enough. I receive people every other day, and sometimes every day. And I read the mail. In eight months the ministry received over 6,000 letters; I look over about every sixth letter.

[Question] Do you have a record collection at home?

[Answer] Yes, a large one. I have been collecting for a long time—primarily classical albums, but not solely.

[Question] Vasiliy Georgiyevich, it would be interesting to learn your opinion about the publications in our magazine, and especially on the fine arts. After all, you probably look at our magazine occasionally?

[Answer] Not occasionally, but always. I am in favor of presenting various directions of the fine arts. And your magazine does a great many interesting things. In my view you have a certain enthusiasm for Marc Chagall. You have run considerable materials on him over the year, but after all, how many artists there are which should also be published! I have already stated that my affections lie in the sphere of the school of realism, but also the avant-garde; I repeat, artistic realism, but it

should not disappear, fade away, or become silent, much less be subject to persecution: Kandinskiy, Kuznetsov, Malevich, Falk, Larionov, Filonov—they are part of our national treasure.

[Question] Vasiliy Georgiyevich, the letters concerned most of all the problems of the variety stage-shows, and rock music. And the following question was put: How are "stars" made in the arts?

[Answer] I'll start with the last question. In foreign countries they chose a candidate and, as they say, they "make" a person: they invest 5 or 6 million, make hundreds of video recordings, do TV and radio programs; organize an ad campaign; add the press, and they "shoot up" a "star." It is more complicated in the theater, especially in opera, where they must choose a repertoire and mastery. Probably such methods would be inappropriate for us. But in the proper sense, it is necessary to create "stars." We have lost the ability to create "stars" on an international scale as well. Let's take for example contests for variety stage-show artists. "Stars" must be trained in the most careful manner: what to perform, how to perform it, what kind of suit the performer will wear, what style of behavior... It is also necessary to weed out the pretenders. Preparation of "stars" is also a problem of talented producers, teachers, and mentors. In sports, several trainers are engaged for an outstanding athlete; but an artist is quite often represented by himself. We shall do away with that system. Already several young stage performers have been chosen, winners of "domestic" contests, who are being trained to take part in international festivals and contests.

On rock music—I am opposed to bans in the arts. The forbidden fruit is sweet. Why must we avoid what the young people like? We are obliged to cultivate good taste. Zhurbin, Morozov, and Rybnikov, who are talented composers, work in that genre; everything that is talented must be supported.

I single out rock "from the underground." We have to a large extent cleaned it up. You see, before, many ensembles attracted the attention of the young people primarily by means of their aura of being "forbidden."

#### Letters

[Question] Are performances permitted to the accompaniment of sound recordings? (Bezrukov, Ufa)

[Answer] On the given question the USSR Ministry of Culture issued an order in 1983 forbidding performances by artists and collectives at concerts to the accompaniment of sound recordings.

[Question] When will a theater for singing be established in Moscow under the supervision of RSFSR People's Artist A. Pugacheva? (Bloschenko, Odessa; Kisiel, O., Novorossiysk; Kurenkov, P., Tashkent).

[Answer] But must such a theater be established? Personally, I am not yet convinced of this.

[Question] Why are the performances of Leningrad singer S. Zakharov allowed to be shown on television, since at one time he committed a crime and served a prison sentence? (Novikov, Lvov, and others)

[Answer] S. Zakharov received his punishment for his past deeds, after which he has the right under Soviet law to return to his work. The fact that he is performing successfully today and is working in a mature and serious manner bears witness to the fact that he is not being subjected to official and personal discrimination—which are not in the tradition of our society.

[Question] About one-fifth of the mail received concerns the Melodiya Firm, and problems with gramophone records.

[Answer] We have adopted several principled decrees on the development of Melodiya. We are reorganizing many of the technological processes for manufacturing records, and we are raising the question of concentrating records sales in specialized stores. The next stage of the fundamental improvement, is transition to production of compact discs. We are striving to ensure that the firm operates more efficiently. This is by way of a short answer. But in principle, you will agree, that it is such a broad topic that it requires a separate conversation.

[Question] If I may be so bold, I'd like to suggest organizing a "round table" discussion in the pages of our magazine on the problems of the Melodiya firm, but with your direct participation.

[Answer] My answer is, yes.

[Question] Vasiliy Georgiyevich, what is your personal attitude toward libraries? What sort of problems exist there, and what should be done to solve them?

[Answer] I have some anxiety about the libraries. When I was writing my candidate and doctoral dissertations, I used to study in the library. I consider the Leningrad Library imeni Saltykov-Shchedrin my own.

The most complicated problem for the libraries is their complete lack of a modern material base. And the wages of a librarian are among the lowest in the country. The forthcoming wage increase for cultural workers includes all library workers as well.

[Question] What is your attitude toward popular stage performances? In their time, Meyerhold and Okhlopkov wrote on this... In my opinion we have lost this tradition.

[Answer] I agree. We have lost the tradition of popular stage presentations, and there are no specialists. In Leningrad there is a producer, Petrov, and in Moscow there is Golovko; but such professionals are needed in every city.

[Question] To what extent do USSR Gosteleradio and the Ministry of Culture cooperate?

[Answer] Not very well yet. It's as if there is understanding, and the desire to help one another is there, but not all opportunities for cooperation are utilized.

[Question] The problem of the national in culture—What can you say in this regard?

[Answer] It is well-known that among the negative phenomena and errors of the recent past, there were also certain attempts to sublimate under the slogan of internationalism the national peculiarities of the cultures of the fraternal nations in our country. Among the main tasks of Lenin's national policy, which perestroika reaffirms, is—further development of Soviet culture, socialist in its content, and multifaceted in its national forms. We firmly believe that it is dangerous not only to level out various cultures under a single model, but also to deliberately contrast them one with another, idealizing "one's own" historic and everyday peculiarities, and even vestiges of religion. We must staunchly defend our proletarian internationalism from political and demagogic speculation—as if that itself unites our national peculiarities. In a socialist country the flourishing of the art of each individual nation serves as a promise for the flourishing of the arts for all.

Belief in democracy; intelligence; and delicacy, are in the final analysis also extremely important to the solution of the delicate questions of intellectual exchange and mutual enrichment of the various nations.

#### Letters

[Question] How are icons sold in the USSR? (Buliga, Moscow)

[Answers] Icons and other articles of culture are accepted from citizens by the All Union Artistic Production Association imeni Ye.V. Vuchetich, USSR Ministry of Culture, for sale on a consignment basis, and the owner is reimbursed in cash accordingly.

[Question] Help me to improve my living conditions. The minister must intervene. (Yevstafyev, cultural worker, Gorodets, Gorkiy Oblast)

[Answer] A.A. Yevstafyev arrived from the city of Gelendzhik and worked in the Gorodets Palace of Culture from December 1986 through May 1987. He and his family were offered a room in the dormitory. Yevstafyev was then offered the post of director of the palace of culture on the Zarechnii Sovkhoz, which allocated him a

three-room apartment. At the same time it became known that Yevstafyev was being sought by the militia organs for deliberate non-payment of alimony. Over the past two years he changed his residence nine times. After the court trial Yevstafyev left the city of Gorodets.

[Question] Vasiliy Georgiyevich, when we speak of culture, that also implies the overall culture of a person, his spiritual needs, his aesthetic training, upbringing and education. One would think that the schools could do a great deal in this respect. Aesthetic upbringing starts at birth, with the first cradle songs the child hears, with his first toy. And it seems to me that the Ministry of Culture has stood aloof from this process. Kindergartens, elementary schools, technical colleges, vocational-technical schools, and institutions... How many opportunities there are for influence, for upbringing... Of course, the Ministry of Culture cannot do everything; the Komsomol is also there, as well as the trade unions, and the USSR Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. But, in my view, the Ministry of Culture should take the lead. What is your opinion in this regard?

[Answer] I agree with you completely. Lessons in drawing and singing in the elementary schools—and I'll look you right in the eye—are to a significant degree a fiction. There are 30,000 schools in the Russian Federation alone, that on the whole lack instructors for drawing and singing. And in those places where they have them, one must look carefully at what kind they are. The family, the kindergarten and the elementary school formulate tastes. We held a collegium along with the Ministry of Education. A shocking revelation—We are unable to find jobs for graduates of artistic VUZ's, while in the schools there is no one to teach drawing. Upon a proposal of the Ministry of Culture, a resolution was adopted for working out a state program of aesthetic education. Until such a program becomes an official state program, nothing will happen. We estimate that about 60 departments and ministries should take part in it. We think that this will somehow move matters off dead center. And here we need the assistance of the mass information media (including *Sovetskaya kultura* itself, which is truly becoming more and more interesting, although we are quite often justly criticized on its pages), cultural figures, teachers—in a word, everyone who is interested raising the country's intellectual potential.

**From the Editors:** We are grateful to V.A. Bekleshov, an associate at the USSR Ministry of Culture, for his cooperation in preparation of this publication, and for his assistance in working with the letters received from the readers.

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09006

### Theaters Defended Against Accusations of Anti-Semitism

18000105a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by Valeriy Kichin: "A Lie Is Not a Point of View"]

[Text] Let us try to imagine a person who holds to the opinion that the Earth is square. Or that, as the ancients said, it rests upon three elephants. Under conditions of democracy, everyone has the right to express his own opinion. But should it follow from this that the version about the elephants should once again be made a subject for public discussion?

Certain people believe that under democracy ignorance has equal rights with knowledge, and a lie—with the truth. But one can discuss, argue, or maintain dialog only with an interlocutor who holds to certain ethical standards: one may err; but one must not lie. One may become confused; but one must not unfairly shuffle the facts. This is obvious.

Certain journalists in the city of Sverdlovsk, repeating the favorite themes of the activists of the local amateur association "Otechestvo" [Fatherland], are convinced that some sort of pernicious powers are consciously perverting the architectural appearance of the city; that they are inundating the stages of the theaters with Zionist and Fascist symbols; and that they plan to make drunkards of the citizens with the alcoholic beverage kefir. They have a right to think this way. But how on earth can they remain in harmony with their professional duty? After all, the course taken by the country is leading toward the whole truth—and certainly not to fantasies of unmasked "versions" of the truth.

In a sensational broadcast on Sverdlovsk radio, M. Pinayeva, its author and leading expositor described in the most dramatic tones the perfidious undertaking of local architects to "close off the sky and cut off the air. It is as if the architect," she declared, "spied on us through a peephole in the door and listened in; made inquiries on my free and independent disposition, and decided to tame it by means of 'godsends' in urban construction, placed like a sentry with a rifle at every window..."

As a former resident of Sverdlovsk, I too look sadly on the streets of my favorite city, as on all of our cities, which have suffered considerably at the hands of voluntarism and incompetence. But it never occurred to me that this is due to the wicked will of people who are aliens by birth and in spirit. But Pinayeva opens the eyes of her listeners. What worries her is—who will erect the building of perestroika—the "sons of the Fatherland, or some sort of Freemasons?"

For the uninitiated I will explain: "Freemasons," in French, are frankmasons. Is it clear now where the wind is coming from? Cherchez [look for] Freemasons, therefore. Cherchez around you. Here they are, right next to us—Tally Ho!

Here they are, these masons. And they have undertaken to propagandize Fascism and Zionism no more and no less than from the stage of the Academic Opera. The local "Otechestvo" association has already held a meeting, at which journalist B. Pinayev personally informed of the presence of swastikas and a "Star of David" on the stage. And the angry members of the association—although they had not seen the performance—unanimously demanded the appearance of the authors of the play in due form. After diplomatically editing out certain of the trickiest elements, M. Pinayeva shot into the airwaves a recording of these sensational disclosures.

(For those who may have become confused with the surnames, I shall explain: M. and B. Pinayev are not simply "comrades in battle," but are spouses as well.)

Concerning the battles which have flared up in Sverdlovsk around the production, "The Tale of Tsar Saltan," *Sovetskaya Kultura* has already written the articles, "A Typical Conflict," and "In the Wake of a Typical Conflict." And we received quite a few letters from members of the audience, who were offended by the slanderous attacks on the theater. Reason finally prevailed on the airwaves of Sverdlovsk: the management of the local radio station was pensioned off, and the new chairman of the TV and radio commission put a ban on broadcasts which panic the public and subject them to disinformation. In particular, the new "yellow journalism" radio exposé about kefir was stopped in mid-stride.

But the scandal is flaring up. Brandishing slogans of democracy, the Otechestvo activists are bursting out on the printed page. Bowing to their pressure, newspaper *Vechernaya Sverdlovsk* gave space in its columns to their "point of view" on the play "The Tale of Tsar Saltan." And the magazine *Nash Sovremennik* No 9 prints a letter from B. Pinayev under the dramatic heading, "Degradation of the Classics." Both publications force us to return anew to the stage production, although speaking of it now is strongly reminiscent of the tale of the priest and his dog, which, as you know, has no ending. Everyone has already investigated the snowflakes—the "stars of David," and the petals—the swastikas; the Sverdlovsk Opera has already completed a successful tour to Moscow; and those who wished could convince themselves of the absence of Masonic and Fascist symbols in that production; and they could take pleasure in the great mastery of the theater and marvel at the flights of fancy of its "accusers." But they stubbornly stick to their guns. Moreover, they do not only take the trouble to look for new arguments, which have not yet

been refuted. They simply publish those same semi-literate revelations, that in the crowded auditorium it was rather hard to hear "Otechestvo"; but on the pages of the press, one simply cannot believe one's eyes.

In *Nash Sovremennik* B. Pinayev is offended by the contrast of the "Russian kingdom of Saltan," and the fabulous city of Ledenets. The first is allegedly shown on the stage as "something dark, a kind of untidy, bespattered hut, where nasty cockroaches crawl," while Saltan's throne is decorated with a "swastika." But to make up for it, a "star of David" hangs above Ledenets, and here "everything is marvelous: flowers, birds, camisole-makers and similar fascinating associates. And you see, right here they serve their guests the head of a Russian peasant on a platter! This is, so to speak, the apotheosis of the victors."

On the whole, cockroaches as stage props are something new in theatrical practice. Of course one should explain to the readers of the magazine, whether the Sverdlovsk theater while on tour displayed insects raised in its own collective, or whether it found it satisfactory to invite "staff" cockroaches from the Theater imeni Stanislavskiy and Nimirovich-Danchenko, where the performances took place. But in any case, the cockroaches do honor to the vigilance of the critic. I must confess that I was unable to discern them farther than the orchestra pit.

I did not see the swastikas either, although I went to see the performance for the fourth time just for that purpose. On the throne was a design known from an album of examples of Russian wood-carvings. But petals have only one thing in common with swastikas—the number four. Accordingly, four is not a magic symbol.

Neither is six, as is well-known; but here, in a star with six multicolored tails, B. Pinayev is inclined to see a "star of David." In another place, on another occasion, others might muster their ideas and conclude that they represent an industrial nut, which also has six corners. I must admit that, having heard of the revelations, I used to walk about suspiciously at the Sverdlovsk Opera, and each time would count the number of little horns on the chandeliers, and—you guessed it—there turned out to be six; and then I understood that I had fallen right into an unpleasant business.

It is sad, however. The subconscious mind can give birth to monsters. According to B. Pinayev's logic, in other words, among the hosts of all the stars large and small, the producer with the help of the artist inserted a pair of six-pointed stars in the secret hope that the audience, to the timeless strains of Rimsky-Korsakov, would then and there raise their opera glasses and would undertake to count those pinpoints of light. And then the poison of an alien ideology would filter through to them.

The Sverdlovsk journalist truly understands the process of the ideological struggle. What else can you say?

Farther on, B. Pinayev inappropriately quotes Academician B. Rybakov extensively on the status of the Russian princes, with their "wealthy cities and magnificent architecture." He similarly cites Pushkin at length to remind us that the peasant "goes to the bath house every Saturday, and washes himself several times a day." He enlists all this in order to prove the savage distortion of Russian history in the play, "The Tale of Tsar Saltan."

There is, it is true, little in the opera about bath houses. But what gave the journalist reason to think that the naughty tale of Pushkin is a depiction of Russian history? There are other sources and other genres for the study of this important subject. Saltan is a name that is obviously manufactured; Gvidon as well. It is a strained interpretation to consider the reign of Saltan "Russian," as with Gvidon as well; and that something here is "contrasted" is just ignorant. One can find a multitude of political allusions here, if one greatly desires to do so.

But that would be merciless, blasphemous, and even a vulgarization. After all, a tale hardly relates the facts of history. A tale expresses the spirit of the people. And it is generally acknowledged that the play performs its task with total fantasy and love for life in an excellent manner.

**In the heat of his "revelations" the journalist does not notice that they have a totally unplanned effect in the territory, where they appear to be extremely comical. For example, in his haste he incriminates the producers of the play in that which the authors of the opera, or even Pushkin himself, are "guilty." In establishing their guilt, he quotes from the libretto which, as is well-known was hardly composed in Sverdlovsk. According to the article in *Nash Sovremennik*—not only the performance, but the entire opera should be speedily banned, and even Pushkin's tale is under suspicion: you see, Tsar Saltan is not included in the triumphant ode sung by the journalist to the Russian princes. He overhears the conversation, standing "behind the fence." You wouldn't believe what turns up in history. And in the finale, Pushkin irreverently informs us, "Tsar Saltan was put to bed half-drunk," which—in the light of the struggle for sobriety, is not good. The weaver-woman then, along with the cook and the peasant woman Babarikha who is being courted, generally look with scorn on the participation of the Russian princes "in the construction of a European Medieval Culture," of which (in connection with Pushkin's tale!) B. Pinayev makes significant mention. "Defending" history and the classics, the Journalist takes offense in this world in such a way that the fur flies, both from the one and from the other.**

Since my opponent is painfully inclined to accept his wishes as reality, I will make special provision for him: I am not in opposition to the Russian princes here. I am speaking of the fact that they are from another opera. And I am against the invincible attraction to vulgarization, which permits confusing an elder in a vegetable garden with an old geezer from Kiev, and to make

far-reaching conclusions on this basis. Vulgarization is the native daughter of ignorance; and ignorance, as Marx wrote, is a "demonic force." And he forewarned us of the great misfortune it brings.

Ignorance walks hand in hand with aesthetic deafness. The quotations, which were improper to begin with, literally place blinders on a person's eyes. And you see, to our journalist it also seems unacceptable that children are lightheartedly and gaily invited to the hall—the elements are merry, in the spirit of the gallery, like a game. He does not understand that in the theater one can depict a "kingdom" without any "gold" or "ivory" at all—with the aid of bright peasant headscarves, and decorated wooden spoons to replace the oars on the tsar's barge; one can bring this far-off kingdom near and make it hospitable and homelike, just as a child unschooled in "magnificent architecture" depicts it. And this is a merry inventiveness; and it is a good thing, filled with fantasy by the producer and the artist: the tale speaks to the audience's heart far more than historical authenticity, which is not always appropriate here. Pinayev, for example, is extremely upset by the fact that 33 Russian folk heroes, "all handsome and bold," appear on the stage as a host of children; in this he can sense no call to the heroic spirit. Nor does he see the rapture glowing in the eyes of the children in the audience, when their contemporaries, the lawful masters of the tale, swear to "defend this glorious city." And at the same time help the main heroes, played by Shmelya and Belka; and the butterflies, and the flowers, and all the living things which inhabit the "magical island." And the table, behind which the "merry feast went on," also depicted by a mischievous clown. And then how Pinayev managed to perceive in this happy scene, filled with light and laughter, the most terrible motives, with the "head of a Russian peasant" for dinner—passes all understanding. And even if one makes allowance for a total lack of imaginative thought, it is still incomprehensible why the critic decided that this "head" is namely that of a "peasant," and a "Russian" at that. And consequently, he perceived in this, once again, an attack on Russia.

And that is why he decided, that is what he took it for, and that was his purpose in coming to the performance. He wanted to see, not an opera, but intrigues. And when one very much wants to, one can see even that which isn't there—and even that which cannot be. Such is his "point of view."

This "point of view" forced B. Pinayev to closely scrutinize a performance of Boris Godunov for an evil, devilish trap, to which "Orthodox monks dispatch the deceased Godunov." And once again, a malicious comparison of "gloomy caverns, to the habitat of the Russian people; and a sweet-smelling garden, to Poland." And he takes all this for a "plague-infested atmosphere"...

A lie gives birth to hatred; blind, unreasoning hatred. Excerpts published by *Vechernaya Sverdlovsk* from discussions of the performance by that same Otechestvo

organization were permeated by the uttermost pathos of a witch hunt. Concerning the performance, which they did not attend, it was said that it "aroused the furious enmity of the Russian people... and a similar and equally furious defense on the part of its ideological accomplices (By the logic of the given statement, evidently, "non-Russians"—), completely carried away by the demagogic babbling of their brethren" (A. Burlakov). V. Byakin suggests that "These producers should in the future lose their right to stage performances on Russian popular themes," and N. Kuleshov calls for "taking them to court for agitation on behalf of Fascism" and calls the performance a "crime against the Motherland, and against the nation."

Is it not time to stop? Some people among us at times are clearly confusing the end of the 1980's with the end of the 1930's, when simple slander and a cast-iron throat were sufficient for totally destructive "organizational extirpation," even if pronounced as delerious ravings, and shamelessly at that. A letter just printed by *Literaturnaya Gazeta* from the secretariat of the board of the RSFSR Theater Actors' Union expressed indignation at the ideological bent and tone of the publication *Nash Sovremennik*. I have no doubts that the majority of the theater-goers who cheered the theater this summer in Moscow will join in this protest.

The above-mentioned N. Kuleshov, in his letter to the editors of *Verchernyaya Sverdlovsk*, bases his demands as follows: "Democracy presupposes as a minimum the opportunity for both sides to speak out. We are living in a time of democracy, in a democratic country; and therefore, I hope to see my letter in the pages of the newspaper."

And the letters, which contained obvious lies, were published; out of consideration for democracy. But a lie is not a point of view. This is a lie which has unworthy goals, and always had unworthy goals in mind. And if in the name of democracy we open the way for it to the press and to the masses, the first thing it will try to destroy will be democracy itself. And these are the "democrats" from "Otechestvo"—You see, they did not simply express their opinion and then calm down. They are engaged in a struggle. One might envy their activeness. They visit the authorities; they write letters; and they demand that talented people be driven out and brought to court, and that a fine performance should be banned. And that is what their democracy looks like.

And while we are breaking our lances pointing out that not every nut is a star of David, genuine and urgent problems are waiting for solution. Thus their frothing is becoming a real impediment to perestroika. Involving us in endless, fruitless debates; turning us into a horde; and just like Swift, cracking one another's skulls over which end of the egg to break—this is the secret dream of the spoiled children of the stagnation.

Stagnation, when it has already become indistinguishable, where is the lie and where is the truth.

09006

**Author Discusses Reactions on Chernobyl Play  
'Sarkofag'**

18000105b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 87 p 4

[Interview by Staff Correspondent Yu. Filinov with Writer Vladimir Gubarev, winner of the USSR State Prize: "The Spectacle Around 'Sarkofag'"]

[Text] [Question] This play was performed for the first time in Tambov. Then it was seen in Vienna, London, Stockholm, Budapest, Oslo, Tokyo, Los Angeles and Hamburg... Today separate productions of the play are being put on in 20 countries in the world...

[Answer] I have already seen performances not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Vienna, London and Stockholm; in the USA, and in Italy... By various producers, and various actors. But what struck me was the fact that people accept the entire event as if it had taken place in their own countries... This speaks to the fact that today we are all worried by the very same problems. And above all, about our future.

[Question] The theater in Tambov put on the play a month-and-a-half after it was published in the magazine *Znamya*. But why has *Sarkofag* [sarcophagus] not yet been seen in Moscow, in Leningrad, and in other major cities in the country?

[Answer] It is a very curious situation. In connection with the anniversary of the Tambov theater, a performance tour was arranged to Moscow. A provincial theater had put on a play of which it was very proud. Then someone from the Theater Actors' Union came to Tambov (I was unable to find out who it was), and upon his return to Moscow, banned the performance of *Sarkofag*. Can you imagine such a paradoxical thing: the fact that it was not the ministry, but the Theater Actors' Union which banned it. It seems that things should have been the other way around.

The Tambov theater nevertheless put on four performances in Moscow. It was practically impossible to get in. And then preparations were made for a theater festival in Yerevan. The first one "rejected" by the Theater Actors' Union of the USSR and the RSFSR was—the Tambov Drama Theater.

[Question] What do you think: what on earth is it that frightens the bureaucrat who banned *Sarkofag*?

[Answer] You know, he wasn't frightened by anything. One thing stands out very clearly: the cliquishness which exists in the world of the theater. An "interloper" has appeared. The play burst upon the scene contrary to all

the rules. Ordinarily a play is handed to a producer; the producer works on it for several years, and then the performance is put on. And everyone says, what a bold producer (or theater)! And here the tragedy was printed first. I am lucky that I belong to the profession of journalism. If one looks at the past year, journalism is marching in the front ranks of perestroyka and glasnost. Journalism is least of all seized by cliquishness, or by personal passions. Journalists are concerned about people and about the situation in the country, and they know it. In all the other spheres (and I have in mind the movies, the theater and the Writers' Union) there are a great many words and very few deeds. Just take a look at who is doing most of the talking about restructuring theatrical life. Those same people who, in my view, are profoundly guilty as creative persons of those depressing phenomena; those who have been in the theater, those very playwrights and producers, who for the entire past 20 years have created stagnation through their productions.

Over the course of many years the stereotype has existed that all the best productions appear only in Moscow. I am deeply convinced that this is one of the greatest illusions. Just take a look at which plays are going on on the stages of the capital. Those of Viktor Sergeyevich Rozov himself. Previously they were staged in in the oblast theaters. And then they came to Moscow, after four or five years. Take the story of Vampilov... Now a mass of producers and critics admit that Vampilov was a magnificent playwright, but while he was alive those very same critics did not notice him. It is only after his death that they began to say that someone had hindered them. But who was it?

There is a great difference between the capital theater and the provincial. On the whole, the capital theaters have most of the major producers, Oleg Yefremov for example, and they put on what they want. Yes, they had difficulties with the staging, with putting on the play, and they had to struggle with the bureaucrats—all that is so. But nevertheless, everything that they wanted was put on. It is another matter with the oblast theater. There the producers were directly dependent on the ministries, and on the cultural administrations. But when they say, "Some uncle from the Ministry of Culture is to blame," this is a half-truth. If one is honest about things, there are a great many republic ministries of culture which have put on plays which might never have seen the light of day. At the present time the apparatus of the Ministry of Culture is undergoing a significant reduction. At the very same time the apparatus of the theater actors' unions is increasing. Why? If we create a Theater Actors' Union, we create it in order that talented young playwrights, young producers, and new actors would appear. The mission of the union is to seek them out. But bureaucrats, be they the old or the new kind—we don't need.

[Question] So then, one apparatus is replacing another?

[Answer] I believe that the bureaucrats in the Theater Actors' Union are more dangerous than those of the Ministry of Culture. The most dangerous bureaucrat is a creative bureaucrat. From a bureaucrat at the Ministry of Culture one can obtain satisfaction (He has his superiors), but it is difficult to obtain satisfaction from a bureaucrat from the Theater Actors' Union—he is not responsible for anything: he only talks. If a creative person becomes the head of something, be he an artist, a writer, a bayan-player, it doesn't matter who—he cannot get over the fact that everyone is talking about his talent. Ultimately, willingly or unwillingly he comes to the conclusion that he is a genius. And once that is so, he starts to use the theater stall for his own personal ends.

[Question] And moreover, he begins to make other artists conform to his own creative credo?

[Answer] Of course. Therefore it is no accident that a system of producers exists throughout the world. Perhaps our theaters should have their own producers as well; producers who would know in which city this or that performance would enjoy success; on whose shoulders would rest the search for actors; advertising, etc. Then there would be no cliquishness, and no ties of friendship, which permeate theatrical life. It is true that over there in the West, a producer risks his money. His own, and not the people's money... We say this is "commerce." But commerce—is that really a bad thing? Unfortunately, many of our cultural figures do not like to count money. The people's, of course...

[Question] But let's return to *Sarkofag*.

[Answer] In Moscow *Sarkofag* was presented very rapidly—by the popular theater at the Stroitel Palace of Culture and by the popular theater at the Tomilinskaya Poultry Farm. The two performances were excellent. The popular theaters turned out, in my view, to be less conservative than the academic theater.

[Question] Vladimir Stepanovich, could it be that there is something in the play that is truly offensive to Moscow?

[Answer] The play is currently going on in more than 10 cities in the Soviet Union. And one does not have to prove that a resident of Tashkent or Liyepaya is worse than a resident of Moscow or Kiev, or less of an intellectual. I can see no reasons, neither political nor social... Although they tried to accuse me of everything under the sun. They even tried to hang it on me that, if the play is staged so widely abroad, then our ideological opponents would find in it something that would besmirch us.

[Question] Well, that's an old trick.

[Answer] After Chernobyl, I began to test people on how they related to the tragedy. If the pain of Chernobyl did not touch him, to me he is a worthless person. Several

simply became confused and started to shout: "This is an outrage." But others had been to the zone of the Chernobyl station and had worked there in order to eliminate the effects of the accident, and were sent money under Account 904. Yes, it is necessary to analyze who is guilty—that must be done. Incidentally, can you really understand certain theaters, their administrators and their collectives, who canceled the performance tour in May and June of last year? They refused. And afterwards they talk about morality.

[Question] From the stage.

[Answer] From the stage and in general, and from the pages of the newspapers.

[Question] And have the citizens of Chernobyl themselves seen *Sarkofag*?

[Answer] The performance they have not seen, but they discussed the play on two occasions. There were various points of view. I'm not saying that they all cried "Hurrah!" at once. There are people who took it personally, and something offends them. But the most important thing is that people have begun to think about our times. *Sarkofag* is thus far the only dramatic production dedicated to Chernobyl.

[Question] It has been reported that the Americans plan to shoot a feature film about Chernobyl.

[Answer] You know, that is yet another episode about which I am embarrassed, as a Soviet man, as a literary person. And here is why I'm embarrassed: in addition to the Americans (in the person of Stanley Kramer), Englishmen came to us. In general, there have been many proposals to shoot a film about Chernobyl. In my view, we should be the first to make such a film. And we should show how we relate to this topic.

The Americans and Hollywood would like to make a big business deal out of Chernobyl. They would like to film the subject at the station itself, and after that advertise the film throughout the world, and then earn money from it. As is well-known, a film which runs successfully throughout the world brings an income amounting to tens of millions of dollars. For this the Americans want to take advantage of both our Russian sloppiness and our Russian hospitality. But at the Cinematographers' Union they say that they are not worried about economic problems, nor are they worried out money; the main thing is—politics. And under this sauce we will allow the Americans to film it. This is all nonsense and gibberish. We know that all films are shot on the people's money. And therefore, if we earn money, or currency, that is the people's currency. Speaking of a joint production, I understand the matter thus: we have a director, they have a director; we have an operator, they have an operator; we have a script writer—let them have one too. This must be a relationship of equal partners. And the income, excuse me, I stress, should also be received on

an equal basis. I don't like this whole episode with the Americans very much. And for the same reason, that the elementary principles of democracy have been violated, which are now in my view being violated in the movies.

How do I understand democracy? An idea has come up. And here there are several directors and authors who have worked in Chernobyl, and who would like to work on such a film. Very good. There is a Cinematographers' Union for that. Hold a competition, and whoever wins, let him work on a cooperative film.

In general the principle of competition is very important and very necessary. For example, there are some talented directors who would have liked to shoot *The Master and Margarita*. But they were unable to achieve this. But E. Klimov, as soon as he became secretary of the union, achieved this with ease. Although as secretary of the union he should have first entered the competition. When a certain group of people reaches the top—people who not only administer creative unions but also movie associations, studios and theaters—then willy-nilly that group begins to dictate their conditions: In such creative organizations as the Cinematographers' Union, the Theater Actors' Union and the Writers' Union. And that is unacceptable.

Spiritual culture is the foundation of the moral stability of society. It can be strengthened only by work which brings a real, tangible yield. Thus, it is time to begin perestroika in creative unions as well. And they have already done enough talking about it there...

09006

#### Melodiya Records to Release 17-Record Series of Vysotskiy

18000103a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 p 4

[Interview by N. Dombkovskiy with Melodiya General Director V.V. Sukhorodo, under the rubric: "Dialog with an Expert—Valeriy SUKHORADO": "*The Sentimental Boxer* and Other Disks"]

[Text] *Melodiya*, the all-union phonograph record firm, is prepared to release a series of records, "At the Concerts of Vladimir Vysotskiy." At our request, Valeriy Vasilyevich SUKHORADO, *Melodiya* general director, tells us about the work on it:

[Answer] This is the first time a release such as this has been undertaken. The work took place under the aegis of the Commission for the Cultural Legacy of Vladimir Vysotskiy. The form of concert recordings was not chosen by accident—it permits preserving and bringing to the listener that special atmosphere of rapport with the audience, which was so characteristic of the appearances of Vladimir Semenovich.

We decided to preserve as much as possible the peculiar features of these tapes, having edited out only a few repeats. In certain extremely rare situations, substitute recordings were inserted. This was due exclusively to considerations of technical quality: you see, all of Vysotskiy's concert recordings were made by amateurs.

The series was based on the collection of *Melodiya* audio producer M. Kryzhanovskiy, and was compiled by V. Abdulov and I. Shevtsov.

[Question] It's probably impossible to make an accurate count of all the songs performed by Vladimir Vysotskiy at his numerous concerts. But nonetheless, how many disks do you plan to produce?

[Answer] At the present time we have already assembled materials for 15 disks. However, according to the latest information which we have received from the compilers, this number will probably be increased to 17—we've managed to find some new tapes.

[Question] For what period is the production series planned?

[Answer] The first two disks are already ready and are being distributed: *The Sentimental Boxer* and *Save Our Souls*. The next two, *Moscow to Odessa* and *A Song About a Friend* are ready for production. The fifth and sixth disks are on the approaches. In practical terms we will be producing two disks per quarter.

[Question] Today we are reproducing the dust cover of the record jacket in the newspaper. Give us a few more details about how they were made.

[Answer] The outside of the envelope of each of the 15 records—for now we will be operating with that number—is identical. This is a rare photograph of Vladimir Vysotskiy, never before published in the press. Also indicated on the front is the series number of the disk. On the reverse side is a brief annotation and a photograph corresponding to a certain period in the life of the poet—from his childhood years to 1980.

The annotation to the first record was written by the compilers, and the second by Bulat Okudzhava. The authors of the annotations include famous authors and performing artists with their own songs, who are close to him in terms of the social content of their positions. These include—Aleksandr Gorodnitskiy, Yury Vizbor, Novella Matveyeva, Yuliy Kim, and others.

[Question] Valeriy Vasilyevich, the question which interests everyone without exception, is the number of copies in which the series will be issued.

[Answer] You've touched on a painful question. The fact of the matter is that in accordance with established procedure, *Melodiya* produces the first lot of records in the amount of 3-5,000 copies in all. After that the

Ministry of Trade takes orders for additional distribution. I think that in the given situation it is altogether clear that a huge additional distribution will be needed. We have come to an agreement with the Ministry of Trade to produce, as an exception to the established procedure so to speak, a lot of 50,000. In addition, Rosposyltorg [Russian Package Trade Office] has ordered 40,000 records. Citizens who live in rural areas will be able to send for them by mail.

[Question] Will magnetic tape versions be made for this series?

[Answer] Absolutely. Initially 10,000 copies of cassette recordings of the records will be produced. Incidentally, I will note in passing that the price of each record will be R2.50. For audio recording collectors I will also cite the indices of the first two records: M60 48025 001 and M60 48023 007.

As our conversation comes to an end I would like to pass on a request from the compilers of the collection. Naturally, they were unable to list in the annotation to the first disk the names of all those who helped preserve and reproduce the tapes of Vysotskiy's performances, and all those who were connected with compiling the series; and therefore we would like to express our profound gratitude to them here via this newspaper.

09006

#### Kazakh Literature Blamed for Being Too Nationalistic

18000103b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 28 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by Kh. Sadykov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Our Own and Not Another's: On Writers and their Heroes"]

[Text] It is well-known that Lenin attributed enormous significance to the international policy of the Soviet state and its effective factor. "It is not a matter of numbers," he wrote, "but one of proper expression of the ideas and politics of the truly revolutionary proletariat. It is not the 'proclamation' of internationalism that is essential, but the ability to be, even in the most difficult times, an internationalist in deeds."

Today these words are especially timely. To be an "internationalist in deeds"—that is the essence of the present perestroika and of its ideological platform. For a long time we were fed the illusions of well-being, and were manipulated with words and fancy slogans. It happened that we closed our eyes to the complexities and difficulties, and to the unresolved problems in international education. We used to think that we would somehow muddle through. But the infamous events of last year in Alma-Ata was the result. And you see those taking part in these events were the young people who,

for all we knew, had learned goodness and civil responsibility on the models of our multinational literature and art, and on their spiritual content. What then, as it turned out, were they poor students? Or was it the literature itself, the authors themselves that at certain times failed to attract them to true internationalism, who found themselves captive to all of that same ostentatiousness and complacency?

Unfortunately, we were unable to avoid the "blank spaces" in our literature as well—depictions of the international commonwealth with indistinct contours. Read some of the novels and short stories by Kazakh writers and you will be astonished to find that all the heroes from the small to the great are of the same countenance in the direct meaning; that is, they are the countrymen of the authors. They are the leaders, the inventors and the conservatives. They live, work and fight among themselves in such a way as if they live in a vacuum, far from the representatives of other nations. But does it really happen that way in life?

For example, in A. Zhaksybayev's novel, *Barier* [The Barrier], which is dedicated to a theme of production—to the miners—the main heroes are exclusively Kazakhs: Kakimbek, the mine director; Batyrbek, the shop chief; Kurmash, the chief engineer. I don't know, perhaps the author knows of such a mine; but in any event the reader will have his own opinion.

Things are no better in another novel of former years, *Eshi khochesh zhit* [If you Want to Live], by R. Seysenbayev. Here the foreground is peopled exclusively by the author's fellow countrymen, headed by the director of the enterprise, Beken Iskakov. Everything is described thoroughly in the details as well. And, you see, the models for the workers and specialists of other nationalities are clearly not lifelike and are unconvincing. Certain of them figure in the model as the featureless "Misha," "Valya," "the bearded fellow," or "the girl with the glasses," and the like.

Why does it turn out this way? The authors do not always have a clear-cut and in-depth impression of the life of their brothers who speak other languages; of their way of life, their state of mind, or their national peculiarities. Hence it turns out that on the pages of the novels one gets a glimpse of some kind of mask, or "Vanka the droshky driver," the national origin of whom can be distinguished only by their first and last names. And it is not surprising that the authors of such novels are interested in their heroes who speak other languages only up to a certain point; that is, when they are at their workplaces. And should they take leave of the plant, the mine, or the institution, the author's attention falls off right away. And what do these heroes do after work, at their homes; what kind of recreation do they enjoy; what is their world-view? Of all this one can only guess.

It is true that internationalism in literature is expressed not only in the direct display of the representatives of the various nations. Here one must stand off a little way from formalism. It is not a matter of observing a certain percentage: so-and-so many Kazakh heroes; so many Russians, and so on. The main thing is to show how and on what the heroes—our contemporaries—live; what they are struggling for and what they want out of life. It is important to depict that kind of internationalism which lives in the hearts of the people, which is manifested in specific deeds and feelings.

It is well-known that the international problem was taken seriously in the classic Kazakh-Soviet literature of Mukhtar Auezov. It was not by chance that in his last, unfinished, novel, *Plemya mladoe* [The Young Breed], he made his central hero a Russian communist, party leader Nil Petrovich Karpov—a person with a truly internationalist soul. It was extremely unfortunate that the author's plan remained unfinished. But the lessons of Auezov still live. In today's literature, perhaps, it is done timidly and not so boldly, but the attempt is made to place in the center of events heroes who represent other nationalities, to which the author himself does not belong. Recently, for example, I read with interest the novel of Kazakh writer Aleksandr Sergeyev, *Vozvrashchenie k boyu* [Return to the Battle].

Let's be honest: we do not often have the chance to read a book by Russian authors in which the main heroes might be, let's say, Kazakhs, Uighurs, or Koreans. But Sergeyev boldly overcame this inertia, and wrote a new "industrial" novel in which the central figure was a Kazakh engineer, the inventor Bolat Akayev—a young, enterprising specialist: his thinking is in the spirit of the demands of the times.

The question is at once posed: did the author succeed in creating a convincing model of our contemporary, and his national character? There may be varying opinions on this account. The moreso since the novel is not free from shortcomings (for example, in the part on the personal and family dramas of the hero). But the hero, Bolat Akayev, depicted the growth and the maturing of that part of the Kazakh scientific-technical intelligentsiya which has boldly joined modern socialist production. The author of the novel has shown that his familiarity with his national hero and with his environment is by no means a passing one. It is true that the production conflict in the novel is rather banal. Bolat and his comrades create a fine productive machine for manufacturing parts and components for an atomic reactor. But the introduction of the machine to production, as always, is hindered by various conservatives and envious persons.

One can guess that the novel was written at the time of the changes which have begun, the perestroyka in our lives. But the weaknesses and the artistic failures of the author are also rather transparent, particularly in the

straightforwardness and predetermined manner in which the conflict develops. And the attempts of the author to add commentary to his narrative were not crowned with success.

*Ploshchadka* [The Square], a novel by Satimzhan Sanbayev, is dedicated, one can say, to a virgin theme—the construction of the Balkhash Metallurgical Combine in the 1930's. This is a "virgin" topic because, unfortunately, republic literature has up to now somehow unwillingly and very timidly dealt with the past stage of socialist construction which it lived through—the topic of the formation of the working class in the republic. Sanbayev is not the first to turn to this problem. But he depicts it in all its fullness. The most major deficiency is one which can be laid to the shortcomings in the plan of the contents. It is well-known that the 1930's were a monument not only to the impressive victories of our people in socialist construction, but also to the appearance of the personality cult of Stalin. And the workers of Kazakhstan suffered considerable harm, including, one must assume, those who built the Balkhash Combine.

Does it speak of this in the novel? Is there even some kind of hint? Sanbayev reveled in various detective intrigues, with dark figures of various "contras" with mysterious murders and acts of sabotage. Courageous chekists led by Filippov skirmish with the class enemies of Soviet Rule—masquerading as White Guards, bays [wealthy peasant landowners] and mullahs. What of it—there were such types on the Kazakh steppes. But one also wants to ask the question: "And did not people at times turn up on the list of 'enemies' who neither bore enmity, nor had any conflict with Soviet rule?" Sanbayev's novel gives no answer to this question.

At present, in the days of perestroika, Truth is becoming especially important in literature—bold, full and objective truth, no matter how bitter it may be. It is no accident that today's readers are turning with special interest to such works of recent years as *Plakha* [The Executioner's Block], by Ch. Aytmatov; *Pechalnyy detektiv* [The Sad Detective], by V. Astafyev, *Belyye odezhdy* [White Clothes], by V. Dudintsev; or *Deti Arbata* [Children of the Arbat], by A. Rybakov. These novels seize the reader not with a critical relishing of our reality (in the past and in the present), but by their endeavor to honestly and justly, with profound pain in their hearts, deal with the essential parts of our lives in accordance with party principles, and to see and understand those facets which lie between Good and Evil.

For a long time a certain kind of unspoken and idyllic complacency has existed among us with respect to the international question. It was held that in relations between the nations there are and there can be no difficulties and conflicts, nor any manifestations of the vestiges of the past.

But the reality of recent years speaks otherwise. And specifically of the fact that the bacilli of nepotism, national groups, protectionism, national arrogance and disrespect, have begun to revive and "make themselves at home." People began to divide themselves into "us" and "them." Dangerous distortions appeared in analysis of the past, of "our own" history. The instruction and study of national languages fell into a state of neglect. And it was not only a matter of, let us say, the lack of bilingual dictionaries or conversation books. And another matter appeared to more serious: an indifferent, inert attitude toward the very problem of language culture, and a gap between words and deeds.

In literature a great deal was clear skies and smooth sailing. It was as if, yes there are various languages, and the common labor of people of various nationalities is shown; but there are no problems whatsoever proceeding from this.

Let's take such an individual problem as the image of a negative personality. And here until recent times we have had our own, to put it mildly, delicate and at times even curious problems. Some super-vigilant editors advised their authors not to make a negative personality of someone who is not of their own nationality. Let your own "brother" play such a role; it's easier that way.

Is that not the reason that embarrassment arose with M. Sarsekeyev's novel *Vzryv* [The Explosion]? If one judges from its edition in the Kazakh language, one of its personages, namely the assay worker Gusev, is an altogether positive person; but if one takes a glance at the same novel published in Moscow in Russian language translation, one sees that Gusev is not at all a positive personality; on the contrary—he is a self-seeker, pursuing his own interests. Such a metamorphosis is not the result of chance. But also there were problems then with another of the author's positions. For example, in *Defisit* [The Shortage], the sharply problematic novel by I. Shchegolikhin, the conflicting forces were arranged without respect to the national origin of the heroes. A sugary, idyllic, rosy depiction of the "friendship of nations" is alien to the author of the novel. True, non-ostentatious nationalism is displayed in the civic maturity and the uncompromising moral stance of the heroes, in their radical rejection of everything that hinders our lives.

The internationalist essence of a work is displayed not in its outer attributes, nor in its literary assurances. False, far-fetched situations, or glossed-over conflicts bring the most favorable plots to naught. Internationalism does not put up with ostentation. What do the heroes of Aytmatov, Nurpeisov, Akhtanov and other literary masters bring to us? The fact that they do not beat their breasts and trumpet. "I'm a nationalist!" They simply do their own business, creating good on the earth, thinking about their contemporaries, of their times, and they suffer because of the mistakes of others. Zhadiger, Nurpeisov's hero in *Dolg* [Duty], fights for the fate of the Aral Sea not because it is necessary both to

him and to his kolkhoz. The Aral is our national treasure, for which all the nations of our country have an equal need. Future generations need it. Therein lies the meaning of the novel.

One can be sure of the fact that there will be more literary works by Kazakh authors, in which the truth and the dramatism of the epoch, the struggle between the old and the new, and the triumph of socialist internationalism will find brilliant, honest and just artistic manifestation. The spirit of the present revolutionary perestroika itself calls for that.

09006

### **Reorganization of Moscow Film Studio Threatens Unemployment**

*18000102a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 2*

[Article by G. Vladimirova, *Sovetskaya Kultura* special correspondent: "Is Mosfilm Getting Ahead of the Model?"]

[Text] Adopting the new and constructive model for development drawn up by the Union of Cinematographers and USSR Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography], last summer Mosfilm Studio commenced reorganization of the departments under its jurisdiction. Among the first restructuring tasks was, as is well known, the election of V. Dostal to serve as general director of the studio; after his election reorganization of the creative associations began. Currently there are 10 such associations: "Vremya" [Time] is headed by S. Bondarchuk; "Tovarishch" by Yu. Rayzman, "Ritm" [Rhythm] by G. Daneliya; and "Yunost" [Youth] by R. Bykov. The following new artistic directors have also been confirmed: V. Menshov, "Zhanr" [Genre]; S. Solovyev, "Krug" [Circle]; V. Chernykh, "Slovo" [Word]; and K. Shakhnazarov, "Start." The television association remains under the direction of S. Kolosov. However, all the remaining creative staff — directors, technicians and artists, as well as the so-called "second rank" of this group of filmmakers — have been dissociated from the creative associations. But not completely separated from Mosfilm, as some people are wont to say. A new department has been established: the Sector of Creative Cadres or, in other words, a creative pool. Incidentally, at the studio it was quickly and scathingly dubbed "the settling tank" [otstoynik].

"I'm from the 'settling tank'" is often heard, at some studios said with a certain bravado, at others ironically and at still others — almost despairingly. Is it any wonder? People who provide the glory and renown, not just of Mosfilm, but of the whole field of Soviet cinematography, which has been crowned with titles and awards and showered with the popular recognition and affection, are no longer full-time employees. One need mention only a few names: Yu. Ozerov, A. Zarkhi, E. Keosayan, Yu. Karasik, Ye. Matveyev, G. Panfilov...

And along with them there are little-known or almost completely unknown names, the individuals who at some time (everyone has forgotten when) made some (no one even remembers the title) movie and have not filmed anything for several years now. And now, after being listed on the full-time rolls for years, they, too, have become part of the creative "pool." True, many of them have already left the sector and are now filming. But others — and so far they are in the majority — are still waiting for their chance (will they ever get it?).

The entire creative sector consists of 360 individuals, of whom 145 are communists. Previously the majority of those communists were members of the party organizations of their respective creative associations. Now, in order to preserve a unique creative collective and safeguard the best traditions of Mosfilm (in that regard one must give the studio's party committee its due), a new party organization has been established. It has become the largest primary party organization at Mosfilm. It was envisioned that it would bring together masters of the cinema and give them an opportunity to participate actively in renewal of the creative and production processes, have an influence on the studio's project selection policy and ensure that no more mediocre, look-alike films would be produced under the Mosfilm trademark.

Contrary to expectations, this decisive and fair restructuring provoked a negative reaction and even categorical rejection on the part of quite a broad group of individuals. There was talk that Mosfilm had been too hasty, that it was "running ahead of the locomotive." There are people who feel that the old system was somewhat more dependable. Let us be frank: previously untalented people were able to count on finding a place in the regular flow of moviemaking, and mediocre individuals flourished. "Now any sort of waiting in line for the right to make movies has been precluded. Restructuring does not allow for it," noted V. Dostal, the studio's general director. "No one is taking away artists' right to work, but the new model deprives them of the right to work badly."

Let us add that that position expresses precisely the purpose of the new model — to overcome inertia in the "distribution system" of movie production and give the studio back its creative authority.

Three months had passed, and the primary party organization was to report on its work for the first time. In any event, that was what was on the agenda of a meeting held a few days ago. Actually, what was discussed was something else altogether: not the party buro's report, but instead the first results of restructuring at the studio. There was also discussion as to whether the new party organization had become or indeed could become active and authoritative.

"They call us a creative pool, but our sector does not produce movies itself, and essentially has no responsibilities at all. Though we have been dropped from the full-time rolls we are still receiving pay for idle time. But

I do not want to receive a salary which I did not earn," said Yu. Daniyalov, a director and producer, formulating his perception of his new status.

On the eve of the meeting the studio's party committee received a decision adopted by the party buro for creative cadres. That decision stated that under the new conditions communists employed in the main creative professions find themselves cut off from both the creative process and the production process, cut off from issues pertaining to thematic planning and the ideological and artistic content of scripts selected for filming and to personal matters. On behalf of the buro the party organization's secretary directed an appeal to the party committee requesting the creation of a unified party organization for the studio's creative workers, regardless of the nature of their employment.

In addition the meeting came out in favor of representatives of the party organization being on the party committee. True, there was some controversy on this point. For example, ahead-of-schedule elections of the party committee were proposed, failing to take into account the fact that an accounting-election party meeting of the entire party organization is already slated for 18 November.

Nevertheless, what is behind these proposals?

Communists on the general director's staff or those holding administrative posts at the studio, as well as the artistic directors of creative associations, are responsible to another organization: the central apparatus. The other filmmakers saw in this fact a certain detachment on the part of administration from the creative staff and even grounds for possible continued manifestations of subjectivism in the future. And if one takes into account the fact that artistic administrators continue to have employment, and that each one of them is currently making a movie, then the question arises: will any of the rest receive creative assignments? Because currently the choice of producer depends entirely on the wishes of a given association's director.

"Were we not too hasty in separating ourselves?" "Is the studio's artistic administration not drifting away from party influence and supervision?" "Will not the current situation lead to further divisiveness, to a gap between artistic and administrative leadership?" "Is it right that the reorganization has put many artists, including well-regarded ones, in the position of supplicants?" — questions like these were asked in many speeches.

And the timeliness of those questions is underscored when one considers the persisting consequences of stagnation: Mosfilm is still producing bad pictures, the so-called "office warriors" are still at work (the ones who do not defend their reputation on the set, but in their relations with the administration instead...).

Also discussed was the fact that the basic model for the development of the movie industry which has been adopted is still not fully developed; it requires refinement, in particular on a number of points pertaining to organization of the creative process. Today, as before, there is no reliable means of defining which pictures are not worthwhile, and that means that subjectivism, judgment based on personal opinion and orientation toward box-office success can affect evaluation of scripts and completed films.

There is one solution in this case: glasnost. Glasnost and democratization of all discussions, which often continue to take place in the old way, behind closed doors.

Participants in the meetings were undoubtedly correct in insisting that the process of selecting projects and assembling production groups should not take place in secret. Is it right that the party organization has as of this time not discussed either the studio's short-range or long-range plans? And saying that the plan is not yet finalized cannot be considered acceptable — many movies are currently being filmed, and others are on the point of going into production.

Filmmakers do not want to have these discussions merely to hear themselves talk. They want to be certain that renewal will not be limited to organizational changes, but will instead affect the creative process and erect a barrier against cliquishness, administrative pressure and time-serving.

The persisting mistrust of glasnost at the studio was manifested by the fact that some speakers made use of unproved facts and data which had to be revised later in the meeting, using those facts and data to establish conclusions of a very substantial nature. Thus, the mood of the meeting was cooled markedly by the assertion that 68 people from the creative pool already had projects, and that 47 others would receive jobs in the near future. But why did people only discover that at the meeting? And it was only at the meeting that data were made public which indicated that the script plan did not include 17 "movies about prostitutes and drug addicts," as several speakers had stated, but instead only two. Also by no means unfounded were thoughts expressed concerning the fact that during the initial days of the organization of the party committee no thought was given to getting it involved immediately in active creative work. Indeed, people need to be gotten involved in the discussion of plans as they are drawn up, discussion of individual scripts and discussion of completed films, as well as those people who are familiar with movie production, in order to eliminate failures in this area. Toward this end it is even now not too late to discover the potential possessed by the newly formed creative pool and set the mood for ongoing work. Unfortunately, this has not been done either by the party committee or by the "pool's" newly established party buro, although 19 communists have been elected to it! Is not this a source of growing discontent and concern about the future?

"I am concerned by the fact' perceptively noted A. Zarkhin at the meeting," that there is a bad mood within the collective. Note that the people speaking at the meeting were those who are currently unemployed, not those who are working. That sort of mood does not help people in the arts. That is not the way art is made."

In many speeches, including a report by A. Ibragimov, this concern could be heard: "Who will look after us now?" And in that concern one could also hear echoes of the old attitude toward life, the attitude which allowed one to live quite comfortably without having to worry about the state's money or about personal responsibility for what one's studio produced. It should be stated frankly that either consciously or unconsciously concern for personal social and material status was the primary motivation behind many of the speeches.

People should not be condemned for that. Having grown accustomed to tutelage over many years' time, they now find themselves in a new, unaccustomed and, to them, unnatural situation, and it will take time for each of them to find the inner strength to realize that that is how things should be in creative work: only talent, only creative self-sacrifice give one a right to a life in the arts. Is not the fact that its laws mercilessly expose hacks the reason that the arts are regarded as a risky profession? And the long-range goal of restructuring at the studio is to get rid of people who are incapable of creative exploration.

Reorganization is a complex process, and in some cases a painful and dramatic one. Well, those people who are calling for a caring attitude toward people, for responsiveness, for genuine rather than feigned concern for people's future, those people are right.

The Mosfilm Movie Studio has entered a truly difficult period of radical restructuring. This recent meeting demonstrated that that period may be extremely complex, that there will be situations which will have to be rectified as they develop. And the meeting's decision to create a unified creative party organization at Mosfilm and to have that organization represented on the party committee will probably lead to appropriate changes. Yet at the same time the meeting also proved that it is senseless to swing from one extreme to another. Restructuring requires well-planned and carefully weighed decisions, reason, will and courage of everyone who has accepted it in his or her heart and is prepared to support it with deeds.

12825

#### Leningrad Experiments With New Types of Theaters *18000102b Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 87 p 3*

[Article by S. Ilchenko, senior inspector of the Main Administration for Culture of the Leningrad City Soviet Ispolkom: "How a Theater Is Born"]

[Text] Everyone concerned — both theater workers and audiences — is in agreement that Leningrad is in need of new theatrical collectives.

It may seem odd for Leningraders to complain, when in their city there are 13 dramatic theaters and puppet theaters, three major musical theaters and a number of dramatic and musical collectives under the Lenkontsert Association, as well as the "Eksperiment" Theater, Chorographic Miniatures and the Music Hall.

In short, they do have shows to see. However, although the number of theatergoers increases each year according to plan, it is no easy task to get tickets. On the average, each citizen of our city goes to the theater once a year (that figure includes Leningrad's numerous visitors). Let each person reading this article do a simple calculation: recall when he or she last went to the theater and when all the other members of his or her family did the same.

One should also bear in mind the following important aspect of the current situation: the distance of theaters from potential audiences. Another simple calculation will show that the time required to travel downtown to the theater and back from some rayons in the city is practically the same as the length of the performance itself.

Thus, despite all the interest in the theater which exists, it has, paradoxical as that may seem, been the art form which has been assigned one of the lowest priorities among the cultural interests of entire groups and strata of the public (and, most unfortunately, particularly among young people).

Now, as a solution to this problem, mobile theatrical collectives of a new and non-traditional type are being established in areas close to the audience. (In this article we will not deal with the question of their quality of performance. Naturally, what we most need are brilliant, interesting shows on the stages of both old theaters and new theatrical collectives.)

Small-scale theaters which cultivate a studio-like atmosphere could augment our arsenal of theatre facilities. At such theaters it would be possible to arrange a different sort of interaction between stage and audience, opening up toward the spectator. They could give those directors who become the reserve from which the next generation of leading craftsmen will be drawn an opportunity to prove themselves.

Alas! Establishing a theater, not to mention building a new theater building, is not that simple. And that is probably not the most productive approach. Because any theater is first and foremost its artistic leader, usually its director. And if there is such a leader who has gathered like-minded individuals around himself, then that is worthwhile, and such collectives deserve support. Just recently Moscow proposed its own option for the creation of theaters, beginning an experiment involving several amateur and professional collectives.

However, the fate of the Moscow experiment gives cause for alarm. Half of the collectives were in fact left out in the cold, in spite of promises made. Here in Leningrad we have chosen completely different approaches to theater organization.

We have developed and are currently implementing the idea of a complex of "museum theaters," a Leningrad-specific means of establishing theaters: establishing them as part of museums. However, this idea has already run into obstacles created by instructions, orders, decrees and resolutions. It was necessary to wait for more than six months for a reply from the USSR Ministry of Culture permitting the establishment of such collectives. Despite the fact that the question was simple: whether to allow the city's museums to hire people in theatrical professions — directors, actors, etc.

Subsequently the project proceeded much more swiftly. It only took two weeks to issue an order concerning the opening of a studio theater attached to the Museum Preserve in the City of Pushkin and a theater under the City History Museum, and a statute was drawn up even more rapidly. The project had taken off. Each of the two theaters has its own aesthetic program, its own group of actors and shows ready to be performed, and performance areas have been set aside. The studio theater in Pushkin is oriented toward active mastery of the classics and utilization of the opportunities presented by the suburban town's exteriors and interiors. Its regular performance site will be the storage building of the Kochubey Palace. The performance site for the theater of the Leningrad City History Museum will be the Peter and Paul Fortress, an especially appropriate site since the main focus of the collective's performances will be historical and revolutionary subjects.

Recently one more form of new theater organization has appeared in our city, and it is tentatively called the "rayon theater." Over the past month our main administration has received requests from eight initiative groups that they be set up as professional studio theaters. They will be located in densely populated rayons which are far from the central city: Moskovskiy, Vyborgskiy, Kalininskiy, Oktyabrskiy and others. Each of these newly formed collectives will be headed by a professional director.

The establishment of new studio theaters will also help solve the considerable problem of actor unemployment.

Two projects are the most artistically mature and economically well-founded: a studio theater headed by E. Goroshevskiy (Dzerzhinskiy Rayon) and the "Litsey" Theatre, which is a part of the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Production Association; the latter was founded by graduates of the Institute of Theater, Music and Cinematography (I. Gorbachev's course). The decision has been made to conduct an experiment concerning "the studio

theater on a collective contract" (taking into consideration a similar experiment undertaken in Moscow). It will be based on the principle of self-support by professional theater collectives.

Courage and resolve, on the one hand, on the part of the rayon administration and, on the other, on the part of the enterprise's administration and public organizations which do not have a direct connection with the arts helped solve problems in those cases which have not yet been resolved by other studios. True, certain aspects of the economic side of their operations remain vague. A number of existing groups are completely unable to define clearly their relationship with their founding organizations, as well as with cultural organs in their rayon.

While not refusing their support, others of them nonetheless are afraid to give a definitive "yes" to new theatrical collectives and give them concrete assistance. This indicates outmoded approaches to the issue. The logic employed is as follows: any new collective means people working, and working people mean full-time employment rolls and salaries which must be reviewed and approved by local financial organs. But what guarantee is there that they will consent? Preferring not to take risks, rayon financial organs do not make decisions, instead sending documents "upstairs" — to the City Financial Administration.

It seems to us that the most optimal way to establish a studio theater on the basis of a self-supporting estimate and cost accounting principles would be one based at a major Palace of Culture (that option exists at the Palace of Culture imeni 1 May) or production association (like, for example, the MOST Theater under the Association imeni Ya. Sverdlov). Our main administration has approached the ministry with a request that it allow the establishment of theatrical collectives in conjunction with any of our city's cultural facilities, regardless of their specialization or the departmental jurisdiction under which they fall. We hope that we will receive a reply soon.

In our city there is a large number of buildings containing splendid theater auditoriums: those buildings belong to various departments and organizations. However, in Leningrad there are also a number of long-established professional theatrical collectives which still have no permanent residence: the Modern Ballet Theater, the "Young Theater" and the Chamber Music Theater, which was established this year. The Main Administration for Culture is currently attempting to define what buildings they need, and also to define the needs of the new theaters currently being established.

I have listed only some of the options available with regard to establishment of new theaters. Also planned is the creation of the "Interyer" Theater (in Kuybyshevskiy Rayon) and the "Obraz" Theater in conjunction with the International Sailors' Club.

Still, the number of theaters in Leningrad in the 1930's remains our dream. At that time there 40. Why are there not as many today?

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**Theater Artists Union Takes Repertoire to Kiev**  
*18000102c Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
*23 Oct 87 p 3*

[Article by R. Kolomiyets, candidate of art studies: "A Time of Action: Musings In the Wake of a Creative Meeting"]

[Text] The All-Union Creative Meeting of Soviet Theater Artists, which was dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, was unprecedented in terms of its scale and its objectives. Even its venue is impressive. Begun in Kaunas and continued in Kiev, it is now moving on to Yerevan and, taking in eight cities in various regions of the country, will encompass more and more theatrical collectives and substantially expand its audience.

Highly interesting performances. Stage exploration and shocks for the audience. Instructive lessons in in-depth interpretation of the theater in the context of our times taught by highly authoritative art historians, literary experts, philosophers, sociologists and cultural experts.

But the purpose of this initiative by the USSR Union of Theater Artists goes deeper. It is innovatively bold. In contrast to the timeworn ritual of anniversary reports, the meeting is of a truly creative — and that means a truly effective — nature. Equal participation by theatrical workers and the theatergoing public, their mutual high standards and concern for the harmonization of the Soviet stage with an historically changing era: all these made the meeting something in the nature of a nationwide reappraisal of theatrical forces. Hence not a closed circle of attendance at performance and discussion of what was presented, but instead a broad exchange of opinions, free discussions, theoretical seminars and scientific conferences — a real veche of our country's artistic intelligentsia.

So that the reader can get an idea of the intellectual tone and moral potential of the creative meeting, we would like to mention several plays based on Soviet prose works which were performed in Kiev.

Symptomatic was a play by the Lithuanian Young People's Theater based on Ch. Aytmatov's "And The Day Lasts Longer Than A Century," which demanded spiritual empathy on the part of the audience and was shocking on account of its confessional nature. It did not follow the "letter" of its literary source: according to a review in *Ogonek* only 30 pages out of an original 400 remained when the script was complete. Director E. Nekroshyus did not attempt to derive drama in the usual sense from the prose. He acted as a composer who starts with a subject which concerns him and on the basis of a literary work creates an original dramatic production. The play is not just directed at those who are already familiar with

the story, but first and foremost at those who upon reading Aytmatov were set on fire by his will, who perceive Yedigey (the hero of the story) when he buries his friend as a person with an unburied memory, and his natural life as a contrast to the spiritual and national loss of memory which is generalized through the image of the "Mankurts."

The "little snow-covered station" indelibly etched in our memories looks on stage like a flashpoint of the world at which all our tormented musings on the dramatism of historical existence, on the threat of losing the root system of human existence are concentrated. We realize that it is not small people who live on that little piece of land swallowed up in the vastness of the steppe or people who uncomplainingly carry out their modest duties, not unthinking switchmen who meekly endure the blows of fate, but rather the actors of history, living with a sense of the true indivisibility of past, present and future. And the pain which we feel is restorative. Carried in spirit to an undulled acuteness, we live the Aytmatov saga like our own lives, like our own destiny.

Ch. Aytmatov and E. Nekroshyus are also allied in the sense that the "Lithuanian" element is revealed in the "Kirghizian," and in both the universal human element comes through. The Lithuanian actors are quite attentive to details of a lifestyle which is exotic to them (costumes, props, etc.), but they do not try to be Kirghiz. They remain Lithuanians who have discovered in a tiny Kirghiz train stop an empathy for their own — concealed — movements of the spirit. And they have empathized with stunning sincerity of emotion, feeling the pain of others as their own.

As predicted, the greatest audience interest was aroused by M. Bulgakov's "Heart of a Dog," as produced by the Moscow Young People's Theater. But there was apprehension. Not for Bulgakov. Late in reaching both readers and audiences through no fault of his own, even today he is contemporary. Not contemporary in terms of current aphoristic repartee, nor in the similarity of historical and contemporary situations, but in essence: in the unvulgarized courage of its intellectual attractions and repulsions. The apprehension came from another source: is this not the beginning of a "Bulgakov boom"? Staging Bulgakov has become virtually an obligatory mark of a theater's civic courage, and it is often done without the proper artistic foundation.

Was it not merely market-determined haste which prompted the Moscow Young People's Theater to produce a stage version of the story at almost the same time as it was published in the magazine *Znamya*? No, that was not the case. G. Yanovskaya's production is completely lacking in sensationalism and convinces us of the social acumen and artistic responsibility of its creators.

The story is about how a human brain is transplanted into the stray dog Sharik, yet Sharik does not become quite human; this is handled skillfully and very subtly in the play. Bulgakov wrote "Heart of a Dog" in the 1920's; we as people of the

1980's see the story as a lesson drawn from historical memory. Therefore it is intellectually justified to regard the specific plot of the story as extending into the 1930's, 1940's and even later years. According to Bulgakov, what Sharik received was not "proletarian brains," but rather the grey matter of a lumpenproletarian, demagogically proclaiming on behalf of the victorious class. The raving cad, now named Sharikov, first claims personal privileges, then later social hegemony.

Here we see both the problem and the cause. In the unexpected consequences of the misbegotten experiment by Bulgakov's professor the theatre is not so much interested in the phantasmagorical entertainment provided by the subject as in the interpretive level of action and development of the idea of the intelligentsia's responsibility to society.

An unexpected objection was raised in one of the discussions with spectators: should this play be performed by the Young People's Theater? Will the younger generation (which has already had so much mental work dumped on it) understand our history correctly? We feel that there is no alternative: only people who have been brought up on truth are capable of becoming steadfast fighters for the sacred idea.

The play "My Longed-For Blue Shore..." , an adaptation of a story by Ch. Aytmatov done by the Yakutsk Theater imeni P. A. Oyunskiy, was a revelation for everyone. How little we actually know about one another! And how wonderful that this meeting helped us make up for that, at least partially. The problem is not just the unanimity of our aesthetic perception, although that alone lowers our level of intellectual perceptiveness and is in itself harmful. The Yakutsk performers reminded us of the ideological essence of mutual cultural penetration among fraternal peoples, reminded us that it is precisely the ethnic component which is the means to the continued existence of the universal human component. Talking with us like brothers, in our own language — about the joy one needs to live, about the dignity with which one should meet one's final hour, about the proper foundations for human relations — they sharpened our sense of ethnic authenticity and interethnic commonality. Yet they used no exotic enticements; everything was on the highest level of artistic truth, in unsullied folk perceptions of what is real and what is sham.

And on stage everything was simple. Canvas "waves" on moving supports, among them a storm-tossed boat. The Nivkhi setting out on a seal hunt. With one barrel of drinking water for four people. Then a fog sets in, hiding the stars by which they navigate. What to do? Meekly wait for the inevitable? Spend one's final moments in despair? One person survives all of this because he is weak by nature and weak in the face of nature. But the three others push off into the waves to save the life of the youngest, because the sympathetic feeling of one human being toward another is strong than the biological survival instinct. No — it is man who is strong!

The tremendous success of the Yakut play once again confirms an old truth: the result of creative work is only equal to the artistic effort expended when a feel for social needs is combined with a confessional nature in stage expression.

It would be stretching the truth to say that all the theaters were equally matched in terms of the artistic perfection of their shows. Not all of them were capable of interpreting modern times on the level of the literature which they selected. Director G. Trostyanetskiy, who produced Astafyev's "Sad Detective Story" at the Theater imeni Mossovet, can only be called first-rate. On stage were socially precise hallmarks of a tumultuous time, and the aching verisimilitude of retrospective, and many other qualities which attest to the fact that it was no coincidence that the director chose Astafyev's prose. But one cannot shake the feeling that the plot was trivialized. Why is it that this play, woven of dramatic scenes and genre sketches, has no unified plot thread? Or why does the central character, played by V. Solomin, seem to feel inner happiness, when that is completely out of character? In any event the soul's cry made by V. Astafyev's central character in the final scene is only a pale reflection of the author's original message of alarm.

It is difficult to write about "The Old Man" by Yu. Trifonov, produced by the Sumskiy Theater of Drama and Musical Comedy. What is at issue is not just the play, in which precise directorial efforts were not matched by the actors' performances, but also about the creative inadequacy of the participation of Ukrainian theaters in the meeting. We find ourselves forced to say bitter words about the play. The play's metaphors, intended to penetrate to the essence of Trifonov's complex prose, is here reduced to the level of an onstage illustration of the subject. One gets the impression that the actors, while as people understanding what they were to act, had no idea as professionals as to how to act it, and as a way out of this dilemma they usually resorted to familiar, ritualized methods, but those methods did not work... At any rate, this play should not cause bewilderment: why should it be presented against such a brilliant background, on such a responsible level? Instead, it should be presented in order to make one see oneself in the actual context of the times.

During preparations for the meeting it was discovered that the hospitable hosts did not have enough from which to choose. They decided — and rightly — to present a good practice piece by the students of the Kiev Theatre Institute, based on A. Golovko's "Buryan." And that was all. It turns out (and were we not all aware of this?) that Ukrainian Soviet literature in its best forms exists independent of the stage, in isolation from it. Is that not grounds for joint consultation by the Ukrainian Union of Writers and the Union of Theatrical Workers?

And there is one other thing that should not be forgotten as we draw lessons from the meeting. We need to decisively liven up Ukrainian theatrical seasons. That

could to a great extent be accomplished by theatrical festivals with broad participation by Ukrainian theaters. And not just in Kiev, and not just on special anniversaries. Major cultural centers like Lvov, Odessa, Kharkov or Simferopol are quite capable of conducting a major event of this type.

Specifically, why not have a festival of stage readings of national classics (in Lvov, for instance)? There is no doubt as to the timeliness of this; questions of ethnic traditions and ethnic roots have been stretched to the limit in Ukrainian theater.

Interaction and mutual enrichment among the intellectual cultures of the fraternal peoples of the USSR are an effective resource for renewal and improvement of the theater. That was perhaps the principal idea brought up at the Kiev stage of the All-Union Creative Meeting.

12825

**Preservation Groups Meet, 'Pamyat' Excluded**  
18000100a SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian  
26 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by M. Andreyev: "On the Banks of the Neva"]

[Text] The first all-union rally of associations and groups involved in saving, preserving and restoring cultural and historical monuments was held in Leningrad.

The rally was attended by representatives of more than 20 cities: Moscow, Yerevan, Riga, Ryazan, Lvov... There are currently thousands of people in various parts of our Motherland who are fighting to save valuable historic buildings, restoring those buildings and doing educational work and research.

It has been proposed that all these groups be merged into one. On this occasion the rally's participants met together in the spacious round auditorium of the Leningrad Branch of the All-Union Society for the Preservation of Nature, History and Culture. There were many speeches, and various opinions were expressed, opinions which were often contradictory in nature. The participants unanimously dissociated themselves from the activities of a number of 'Pamyat' activists.

The Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Culture Fund rendered major assistance with the preparations for the rally.

12825

**Soviet Culture Fund Meeting Reported**  
18000100b SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian  
21 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Soviet Culture Fund"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the Soviet Culture Fund has been held. The Fund's Presidium discussed the tasks of the Soviet Culture Fund as outlined in a report by M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of CPSU Central Committee, at a ceremonial assembly commemorating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The plan for 1988 will be discussed at a joint meeting of the Founders' Council, the Board and the Auditing Commission; that meeting will be held in mid-January 1988 and the plan will be published for the purpose of broad public discussion.

The Presidium discussed the basic orientation of the magazine *Nashe naslediye* [Our Heritage]. V. Yenisharov was appointed editor of that magazine.

The schedule, goals and conditions of an open competition for the best artistic and technical designs for the State Concert and Exhibit Hall in the former Church of the Great Ascension near the Nikitskiy Gates were discussed. The proceeds from the "Premiere of Premieres" concert have been earmarked for that project. A public-artistic council will supervise the competition.

On 24 January 1988 the Soviet Culture Fund will hold an evening charity benefit at the Palace of Sports in Luzhniki in memory of Vladimir Vysotskiy on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his birth.

The Soviet Culture Fund allocated the sum of 25,000 rubles as its contribution toward the construction of a Museum of the Irkutsk RSDRP Committee in Irkutsk. The sum of 10,000 rubles was transferred to the Ulyanovsk Branch of the Central Museum of V. I. Lenin for the purpose of acquiring original copies of works of V. I. Lenin published during his lifetime, periodical publications from the First Russian Revolution, illegal Marxist publications and authentic materials from the period of the October Revolution and the Civil War.

Ye. V. Zaytsev, first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department, attended a meeting of the Board of the Soviet Culture Fund.

On 20 November an exhibition/auction of works by young artists opened at the Soviet Culture Fund Exhibit Hall, which is located at 15A Karl Marx St. A total of 192 works of painting, graphic art and sculpture were offered for sale. The auction will be held on 28 November. It will be conducted by performer Aleksandr Shirvindt.

12825

**Effects of Rock Music On Youth Deplored**  
*18000100c Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 87 p 1*

[Article by Aleksey Anfilofyev, engineer from Barnaul: "Black Coffee' With Decibels"]

[Text] Let me begin by relating the following incident. I recall how recently a certain well-known dramatist spoke on television, subjecting all opponents of rock, "heavy metal" and other forms of Western popular music to scathing criticism, openly calling them, the opponents, the originators of the infamous "not allowed," suppressors of criticism and people ready to ban anything new in youth fashion.

I am convinced that all the things discussed on that program, things which have come to us from the West and have recently penetrated deeply into our youth milieu, need no defense. On the contrary, what needs to be defended are classical music and folk music, songs and dances, which have been put "on the shelf." Nowadays no one, not even in the most remote village, is supposed to be without a discotheque, without the deafening roar and lighting effects of various musical "groups."

There is a true old saying that "whatever is bad is also amusing." Why is it that this type of music so swiftly became tremendously popular among young people? Perhaps because many see in it a manifestation of the "beautiful" and carefree life in which the focus of attention is entertainment, disguised as complete "freedom" (read dissoluteness)...

I will not mention the opinions, well known to everyone, of psychiatrists, who have proved that rock music depresses the nervous system, is harmful to health and leads to a sharp decline in labor productivity. I think it important to note that at one time we were quite alarmed by subversive ideological work among young people, including that done through "musical" fashions. Now we almost never mention that. Yet it has become increasingly evident that of late many negative phenomena have been spreading through the youth scene. And, quite frankly, a considerable role in this was played precisely by the "modern" form of leisure organization. It is clear that if a young person does not acquire working habits in his youth and does not become acquainted with high culture, but instead spends his time having a good time in discotheques and in the mindless milieu of dubious companions, then it will be a long time before we are able to inculcate in him a sense of duty and civic qualities. Why do we not publicize these obvious negative phenomena? Recall the recent publication of a letter from Yu. Bondarev, V. Belov and V. Rasputin in *Pravda*...

But let us talk about this among ourselves and note that ideas and modes of behavior that are very far removed from goodness, morality and everything that makes up our concept of morals are literally being drummed into the heads of our young people. We are convinced that

there is no such thing as good rock or bad rock. It is absurd to claim that professional rock music is good and useful, whereas as dilettantish rock is bad. In both cases what we have is a mind-numbing cacophony of sounds which, as psychiatrists correctly believe, encourages aggressivity and permissive behavior.

Just recently the professional rock group "Chernyy kofe" [Black Coffee] performed here in Barnaul. On account of hooliganistic acts by the musicians on stage and their incitement of the audience to unethical behavior (as the published decision put it) the group's concerts were cancelled. And the "unethical behavior" was manifested by the fact that worked-up rock fans went into a frenzy and shouted, climbed onto the stage and rattled chains and steels cans. This instance is not an isolated one.

The fact that currently in our country the standards of pop music are set by music, songs, dances and even performance styles from the West, primarily from the United States, is not the fault of our working young people, but rather of our "bearers of culture" of all types and at all levels. They were unable to oppose in time, or perhaps like Oblomov were too lazy to oppose, the turbid wave of that type of music by countering it with real, beautiful, healthy art by the peoples of our country. And now, seeing that time has been wasted, they are attempting to assure everyone that supposedly "every era has its fashion," and they consign their opponents to the ranks of those conservatives who are allegedly opposed to... restructuring. I cannot believe that they cannot see the difference in the quality of influence on young people by rock music or by classical music, jazz and folk music. This is most likely the expression of a desire to gain authority with a certain segment of young people: "Hey, look how modern we are!" No, I am convinced that the only ones who are modern are those who untiringly promote genuine art. And in that respect we possess an amazing and diverse heritage and wonderful and truly contemporary traditions. We need only recall how the love of the people was won by the works of our classic Soviet artists (including those who made popular music), people like I. Dunayevskiy, D. Pokrass, Yu. Miliutin, M. Blanter, V. Zakharov and many others...

The restructuring which has begun in all areas of our society must also take place in the way we organize young people's leisure time. We must breathe life once again into the tremendous wealth of our own culture and world culture, that culture which aids in the formation and spiritual development of Soviet young people...!

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**Officials Discuss Reform In Film Industry**  
*18000137a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Dec 87 p 2*

[Article by V. Ivanova: "What Has Been Accomplished and What Remains a Hindrance"]

[Text] What has been done over the past year, what has been accomplished, and what is hindering the transformation of the cinema? — these were the questions asked

simultaneously of E. Klimov and A. Kamshalov at a meeting with the cinematographers of the Board of USSR Goskino and the secretariat of the Board of the USSR Union of Cinematographers. The meeting was held at the Central House of Cinematographers and attracted a large audience.

In reply to the first question USSR Goskino chairman A. Kamshalov told of ongoing preparations for the transition to full cost accounting: Mosfilm Studio will make that transition on 1 January 1988, and the entire movie industry, including documentary filmmaking, will follow its example on 1 January 1989. Personnel changes have been made in connection with these new tasks: almost the entire Board of Goskino and its deputy chairman have been replaced. The most difficult issue, i.e. the future of republic cinema committees, is still under consideration. In response to the question as to what is hindering restructuring, A. Kamshalov replied: inertia, force of habit and old cadres, who would like to limit reorganization to mere stopgap measures in the movie industry.

Among the successes of the Union of Cinematographers E. Klimov, the chairman of its board, listed the fact that a common language has been established between the union and Goskino. That is the result of a process which was far from painless, and one which should not be idealized even now, viewed from our current perspective. One positive aspect, said E. Klimov, is that the transformations and reforms have passed through the period of demonstrations and rallies and are now being implemented in practice. The cinema fund has almost begun operations, and preparations are under way for the 1st (founding) Congress of the All-Union Society of Friends of the Cinema. A new redaction of the Union of Cinematographers Charter has been prepared, but difficulties have arisen in the processes involved in the development of copyright law; differences of opinion have surfaced in that area. Studio elections of artistic directors are continuing. In response to the question concerning hindrances, Klimov replied thus: unfortunately we are incapable of seeing through to completion every idea we come up with.

During the meeting quite a few questions were brought up, and many of them were of a very pressing nature. In particular, there was discussion of the situation at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography and of the fact that thus far little has changed there, either in its system of instruction or among its faculty. There was also discussion of the Studio imeni M. Gorkiy, where, despite the fact that the artistic directors of five creative associations have already been elected, relations with management and the party committee remain strained.

On the whole the meeting was businesslike and constructive.

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**Readers Respond To Criticism of Rock Music,  
Avant-Garde Art**

18000137b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 3 Dec 87 p 6

[Letters to the editor: "Readers' Opinion": "What Have We Lost?"; responses to article in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, No 129]

[Text] **How to increase the significance of spiritual values among the younger generation?** This was the question pondered in polemical comments by Belorussian artist Mikhail Savitskiy. Publication of his commentary unleashed a flood of letters to the editor: some agreed with the author, others disputed his conclusions.

"The article was very right! We are in complete solidarity with this formulation of the issue: it is time we halted the flood of anti-art, because it is creating unthinking consumers." (K. Kakadzhan and K. Nemesov, Ashkhabad)

"Dear Comrade Savitskiy! Your article expresses both pain and the hope that the situation with regard to the state of the Soviet man's morals and level of education must be changed radically. Much has been lost, and much time wasted; a generation has grown up thinking only in terms of material wealth. It is sad that a majority of the people see the decadent influence of vile songs, noise-music and vacuous movies but do not know how to protest that influence." (V. Chernykh, veteran of the Great Patriotic War, Leningrad Oblast)

"I read the article by artist M. Savitskiy and I take off my hat to him. Can aggressive, 'explosive' (rockers's own description) music make man noble? Therefore I feel that it is an immoral act to call rock and 'heavy metal' music. The same applies to 'rock painting'." (L. Samsonov, Voroshilovgrad)

"It is unlikely that abstractionism, pop art and similar trends will be able to hold viewers' attention for long, but we should also realize that there has been a decline in interest in realism. But modernism is not to blame for that! Realist artists themselves have discredited realism in the eyes of art lovers. Think what sort of pictures we most often see at exhibitions: those on production-related and historical/revolutionary themes. Of course, those themes are worthy of attention, but they are executed in such a monotonous and repetitive fashion that those pictures have nothing to offer either the mind or the heart. Yet for many years pictures like that were extolled by the critics and held up to us as models of socialist realism!" (A. Sukhovolskiy, production brigade leader, Kemerovo)

"The author already had an idea of what is good and what is bad, an idea that rock music and avant-garde art feed people's base instincts and corrupt young people. This is stated as if it were self-evident and requiring no

proof. Other points of view, given only a passing reference, are not taken into consideration. Then he appeals to television, radio and newspapers to 'erect a barrier' against anti-art, because he feels it inadmissible to proclaim the equality of disease and health, referring, of course, to his own 'diagnosis.' But I would like to inquire of the esteemed author: is it ethical to make a definitive judgement concerning a living trend in culture? What if tomorrow that trend, though today not the best, suddenly gives birth to genius? Suddenly that thing which was without content yesterday might under new conditions yield something that could change our lives — my life and the life of my opponent... We do not need to be concerned about what is 'poisoning' our young people, but rather about what it is that prompts them to gorge on rotten food. Perhaps we ourselves are the cause, with our ingrained 'omniscience' and our efforts to implant programmed 'values' during the upbringing of young people. And if rock does break away from excessive programming of our lives — is that not because a person simply does not want to be regimented from his earliest years on?" (A. Kadatskiy, museum employee, Istra, Moscow Oblast)

"Art should be comprehensible to the masses and loved by them — why is this truth being suppressed? Because people do not understand and do not like precisely that symphonic abstrusity which the supporters of so-called 'serious' music are hiding behind. And things which are genuinely beloved of the people and comprehensible to everyone are disdainfully labeled 'mass culture.' So what have you lost, M. Savitskiy? You have lost the ability to force your opinion on people. You are incapable of banning rock music and songs by amateur singers and musicians or the creations of musical groups and ensembles. You have lost your ability to forbid young artists to paint what they want. You will no longer be able to halt the development and progress of Soviet art, and in particular Soviet music!" (I. Vasilyev, instructor, Gorkiy)

"Why do they call rock music music? It is a phenomenon akin to drug addiction and alcoholism, which put people in an aroused state through the influence of either chemical or physical means — in this case through variations in sound waves which are extreme for normal hearing. And what sort of influence this has may be judged by the reaction of crowds at 'rock' performances shown on television: collective frenzy and something resembling the ecstasies of the Khlystovites. If we are going to promote 'rock,' then why not legalize narcotics, too? — I for one feel that they are both of the same ilk..." (K. Izbekova, Perm)

"I am an ardent rock fan. Savitskiy has every right to think whatever he likes about rock music, but that does not mean that he may maliciously attack any phenomenon which he does not like without offering evidence to support his conclusions... In my opinion, it is absolutely proper that now, in this period of restructuring, rock music has been granted the right to exist. Generally

speaking, what splendid, genuine rock music, arousing the best sentiments, is now being heard on radio and television rather than in cellars! The very same music that M. Savitskiy calls anti-art and against which he calls for an all-out struggle!" (Marta Salimova, philologist, Leningrad)

"Of course, each person is free to have an opinion, but the desire to judge on the basis of one person's opinion has already caused much harm in the history of our society. The struggle for the minds of the masses does not consist of making statements like 'this is good' and 'that is bad.' In the end this passion for accusation is nothing more than a struggle for 'a place in the sun.' We need to make this place ('in the sun') very broad, boundless, so that there is room for everyone. And then there will begin an honest, creative, equal struggle across the whole art front, a struggle for genuine values." (Andrey Dorokhov)

"Once again we ask: which came first, the chicken or the egg? Which is cause and which is effect? That is, the cause of the lack of spirituality and loss of morals of which artist M. Savitskiy correctly wrote. I feel that the crux of the matter is not 'avant-garde' painting or rock music — both are fads, and fads are short-lived. But there is another cause for concern, and on this point I would like to take up where the author of the article left off: what about people who can listen to Beethoven's 'Moonlight Sonata' all day long? Does that mean that they cannot be boors? No, the problem lies elsewhere. And where? Could it not be that entire systems of moral upbringing have broken down, become excessively formalized or are operating on an 'oppositional' basis? Thus the question should be how to restore those systems and breathe new life into them. I am well aware how laborious and complicated that will be. But I am also aware of something else: the responsibility of each individual, whether public official or ordinary citizen, for the moral climate in our country. We have a duty to defend our Motherland. But do we not also have a duty to protect its moral underpinnings?... I would like to relate how quite recently, this past autumn. I had an opportunity to get together with friends with whom I served in the war; we met in a city which we liberated in '43. At a school which we visited at the request of the reunion organizer, each of us old soldiers taught a lesson in one class. I got the fourth grade — 40 children's faces, their eyes fixed on me. What did I talk about? About the cruel war which swept over their city, about the good things which began with the flowers they brought to their teacher that morning. I was terribly afraid of saying something false, of using the words we tend to use at rallies. I looked at those clear faces and trusting eyes and I thought: what a responsibility we have to those faces, to those eyes! What will we give them, what will we teach them?" (F. Chembukov, Kharkov)

**Effects of 'Heavy Metal' Music On Youth Deployed**

18000137c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Dec 87 p 5

[Article by Yuriy Tsagarelli, candidate of psychological sciences: "A Problem From a Psychologist's Standpoint: Rock Teaches a Lesson"]

[Text] The continuing avalanche-like spread of the rock music fad among young people is giving rise to an ever greater number of varying and at times contradictory opinions concerning the nature and social-aesthetic appropriateness of this trend. The pages of many newspapers and magazines, television shows and radio broadcasts resemble a field of battle between the "rockers" and their opponents. "Heavy metal," which has succeeded in driving other pop music genres from many commercial concert stages, and at the same time has banished classical music and folk music as well, is beginning (by its right as financial boss of the philharmonics) to seek theoretical apologists. According to these latter, rock music is a powerful tool in the struggle for peace and even serves as counterpropaganda in the field of musical art, is a panacea for resolving the problems of young people's leisure time and is virtually the sole musical language capable of reaching them. However, experience has demonstrated the error and shortsightedness of such notions.

"Heavy metal" fans' struggle for peace is measured by the number of fights and other asocial manifestations by fans of this variety of rock music, which is characterized by extreme aggressivity. The guise of peacemakers, for the sake of which a couple of ear-shattering tunes blaring out lyrics about peace are occasionally including in the programs of heavy metal groups, is merely convenient camouflage. "Counterpropaganda" claims concerning the need to counter Western heavy metal with a Soviet counterpart are also groundless.

The problem of young people's leisure time does not have a simple solution. It should not be resolved at any cost. According to the findings of a number of studies conducted in our country and abroad, certain works of rock music affect young people like narcotics. In this connection the term "music addiction" has gained currency. There have been well-known cases of asocial, anti-social and amoral behavior by young music addicts, and even cases of suicide committed as a result of that addiction.

However, it is also true that the Western world, satiated with rock music, is currently experiencing a return to symphony orchestras. There is no doubt that the demise of rock in our country is not far off, either. Some organizers of rock concerts also realize this, declaring it unnecessary to combat this phenomenon, since it will

fade away of its own accord. It is also a fact that combatting rock music by banning it has often resulted in "negative induction": as the saying goes, "forbidden fruit is sweet."

All these facts create the illusion that it serves no purpose to analyze this phenomenon and that it is impossible to direct it, creates a tendency to wait passively for the time when the rock genie will retire voluntary. However, the problem is that rock music could be succeeded by some other trend which might be no better than heavy metal. And once again we could find ourselves faced with a case of mass popularity of an inexplicable, unstudied and undirected musical process.

I am by no means of the opinion that the rock music genre *per se* is bad. This genre has a right to exist no less than, for example, the genre of opera. We do not know of a single era when a struggle against a musical genre was successful. Ignoring that fact once again has taught the opponents of the rock music genre a lesson. Another universal mistake is the fact that appraisal of this phenomenon has been conducted primarily on a "like it/don't like it" basis, under the influence of existing stereotypes of music appreciation, or at best musicological opinions concerning the primitive nature of rock's intonational and harmonic language, its excessive loudness, etc. Time has shown that neither the amateur-dilettante approach nor the traditional musicological approach have yielded the slightest observable socio-psychological effect.

However, an adequate evaluation of the rock music phenomenon is necessary, and not only for its own sake alone. In every age music's effect on human beings has been notable for its considerable nonuniformity. A powerful means of regulating psychoemotional states, in some cases music has roused people to fight for freedom and national independence, and in others has sowed feelings of uncertainty and fear. One characteristic trait of the "heavy metal" variety of music is that many of its songs contain the emotionally charged, compressed formulas used by the cult of strength and aggression.

I feel that it is time to speak of the need for and timeliness of evaluation of phenomena in the arts, including the musical arts, employing socio-psychological and psychological methods. A specific feature of such evaluation is that it is intended to reflect the socio-psychological and psychological effect of a musical work on the individual or on a group of people rather than its genre-related, stylistic or technical characteristics, current fashion or the influence of tastes. There is no doubt that the strength and level of that effect depend on the structural-content characteristics of music and listeners' mental baggage, for any result depends on the components of the process of preparations for it. However, the methods of arriving at conclusions in this process of evaluation differ fundamentally.

Psychological evaluation of musical influence requires that one obtain objective information concerning the changes occurring in the personality: mental states, mental processes (thought, memory, imagination), such psychological features of the personality as needs, motives, orientation, etc. Socio-psychological evaluation reflects the strength and direction of the effect of group perception of music, its effect on various social groups, age groups, collectives and associations.

Psychological and socio-psychological methods of evaluating musical works thus provide an opportunity to judge the positive features and shortcomings of a given work on a genuinely scientific basis as well as from the standpoint of that work's direction with regard to the formation of the human personality; this in turn will permit fundamental improvement of the process of teaching the individual the colossal possibilities presented by the various means of musical art.

Musical psychology should play a major role in the theoretical and practical study of this problem. However, a lack of understanding on the part of some heads of ministries of culture and rectors of musical VUZs of the role of psychology in general and of musical psychology in particular creates extreme difficulties with regard to the conducting of essential research. The time has come to proceed from abstract discussion of the role of the human factor to real support for psychology, without which study and development of that factor are unimaginable.

It is with regret that I must note one other conclusion which follows from the analysis of rock promoted by the "rockers." The violence of the repulsively primitive "music" of the heavy metal rockers, music which is squalid in thought and emotional content, gives one cause to ponder the level our young people's musical and aesthetic education. The lack of genuine appreciation of music is fertile soil for the growth of musical weeds. Yesterday it was lyrics heavy with underworld jargon, today it is heavy metal, tomorrow it will be something else. But the essence is the same — weeds are growing. Mechanistically "pulling up" some of them by no means solves the problem, even in those rare cases where it is even possible to do so. The solution to the problem lies in the soil in which it grows, i.e. in the teaching of music appreciation.

And in that area the current attitude toward musical psychology and musical pedagogics must be restructured.

In conclusion I would like to quote M. I. Glinka, who said that it is the people who make music, and artists only arrange it. According to the findings of several socio-psychological studies, the populist element significantly ennobles the effect of music's socio-psychological influence. However, the abyss separating a declaration of the usefulness of folk music and folk instruments from

concrete actions by specific administrators is a considerable obstacle to the development of that type of music. It is paradoxical but true that no international accordion contest has ever been held in our country, or that only 500 rubles were allocated for the conducting of the latest Ulyanovsk Contest for Young Accordionists (and that is typical for our country), or that that contest still has not been accorded official status as an all-union or all-Russian contest, in spite of the broad spectrum which it represents and despite requests from the musical public. The problem of providing musical repertoires for folk instruments is not being resolved satisfactorily, as composers have neither a financial nor a moral incentive to create them. The high prices for custom-made instruments (approximately 5,000 rubles) are not matched by their level of quality.

The struggle to promote genuine musical culture among Soviet people is a cause of tremendous social and political importance. It should be conducted on a genuinely scientific basis, with the enthusiasm and participation of everyone whose job it is to perform this difficult task.

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#### Iranian Azeri Artist Profiled

18310426a [Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 14 October 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,500-word article by M. Miryusif on the Institute of Architecture and Fine Arts of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences: the article, which appears under the rubric "Voices from the South," is headlined "Master Kamalulmuluk." It concerns the life and works of the Iranian Azeri realist painter and miniaturist Muhammad Gaffari Kamalulmuluk (1848-1940), who was partly responsible for the revival of miniature art in Iran in the 19th century. According to the author, in 1905 "the Constitutional movement gave Kamalulmuluk new strength. As a result of the social revival, the times demanded that Kamalulmuluk create a new school of art. He began to train a new generation in his art school and gave them all kinds of spiritual and material help." He is considered to be the founder of the Iranian school of realist art.

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#### Azeri Literature Neglected in Encyclopedia

18310426b [Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on October 1987 carries on page 6 a 1,200-word review by Azar Baghyrov, director of the language and literature editorial board of the "Azerbaijan Soviet Encyclopedia," of the "Encyclopedic Dictionary of Literature" published by the Soviet Encyclopedia Press in Russian in 1987. The review is titled "A Literary Chronicle." The reviewer points out that "the level at which Azeri literature is reflected in the encyclopedic dictionary is extremely disturbing from a number of points of view." In the work's treatment of Azeri writers,

"the names of a number of prominent representatives of both classical and modern Azeri literature are not even mentioned." In addition to the book's biographical omissions, "mistaken ideas and shortcomings pertaining to Azeri literature are found in a number of other articles."

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### Poet's Work on Iranian Azerbaijan Praised

18310426c [Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 23 October 1987 carries on page 6 a 700-word article by Nizami Jafarov discussing Muzaffar Shukur's new book of poetry "We were separated from one root" (Yazychy, 1987). Noting that Shukur's basic theme is that a "man parted from his roots is parted from his destiny," he adds that to Shukur "patriotism is part of destiny" because "man's patriotism emerges from his destiny." According to Shukur, patriotism encompasses everything between Baku and Tabriz; for him, the Araz River (the border between Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan) is a "sea of separation."

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### Life of Writer, Stalin Victim Recalled

18310426d [Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN in Azeri No 9, 1987 carries on pages 155-159 a 2,600-word memoir by Orkhan Vazirov on his father, the novelist and former Musavat diplomat Yusif Vazir Chamanzaminli headlined "Remembering My Father...." Briefly tracing his father's life, he recalls that "for unknown reasons in 1937 they removed my father from his job. Those were our most difficult days...." He added that in Urgench, Uzbekistan, Chamanzaminli was able to find a job teaching Russian which lasted a year and a half. He also notes that his father was rehabilitated in 1956 and that his "rich archival materials" still exist.

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### Critic Reviews Chamanzaminli's Life

18310426e [Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN in Azeri No 9, 1987 carries on pages 152-155 a 2,400-word article by Panah Khalilov on the life and works of Yusif

Vazir Chamanzaminli (1887-1943). The article is headlined "The Honor of a Life, the Power of a Pen." He notes that in his early stories "his strength lay in casting a powerful light on the entire stench of the life of the past, in capturing its evils, awakening man from ignorance and decadence, in shaking him." After dwelling briefly on Chamanzaminli's life in the emigration (1920-1926), he surveys his career upon his return to Baku. Some years later, however, "at a time when Chamanzaminli had been elevated to the pinnacle of artistic and scientific-pedagogical renown, it is a pity that 'fate' turned its face from him: the writer was subjected to the time of the cult of personality, lived for 3 years at Sukhobezvodnaya Stantsiya in Gorkiy Oblast and died there." He adds that his archives were closed for years but, "since the revival of law, they are preserved at the republic Manuscripts Institute for the use of researchers."

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### Good Review for Azeri Theoretical Grammar

18310426f [Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 2 October 1987 carries on page 6 an 1,100-word review by Afat Burbanov, corresponding member of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, and Asgar Guliyev, candidate of philological science, of Z.I. Budagova's "Fundamentals of the Grammar of the Modern Azeri Language" (Elm, 1977, in Russian). The review is headlined "A Needed Research." The reviewers say "that in turkology in the 1970's and 1980's interest has increased in research in the sector of creating a theoretical grammar. But in Azeri linguistics theoretical research in the sector of grammar only began in the mid-1980's and, although studies have been done in a number of grammatical categories, especially in the theoretical problems of syntax, no theoretical grammar of the Azeri language has been produced up to the present. From the point of view of filling in a substantial part of this gap, Professor Zarifa Budagova's monograph awakens interest." They add that the book "is a product of many years of study and is an interesting piece of research; the appearance of this work is also a virtue in that it is more accessible to wider turkological circles."

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**Jurist Outlines Measures to Improve Advocacy**  
18000078 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Professor V. Savitskiy, doctor of juridical sciences: "A Defender's Reputation".]

[Text] "*The prestige of the bar is the prestige of the juridical system as a whole.*" That was the way Academician N. Bogolyubov, twice Hero of Socialist Labor and deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, along with Academician Ye. Mishchenko, winner of the Lenin Prize, summed up their response to Professor V. Savitskiy's article, "The Prestige of the Bar" (Pravda, 22 March). This thought has been repeated in the overwhelming majority of letters sent to Pravda. But there are also opinions. At the editors' request, the author has commented as follows on the mail from readers.

**CHANGES ARE NEEDED**

It is indicative that more than half of the letters were sent by readers who, it would seem, have only an extremely remote knowledge of juridical matters. That means that even they sense how important an authoritative organization of defense attorneys is for strengthening legality and for reliably protecting civil rights in this country.

"Although my profession is remote from jurisprudence," writes Professor A. Nikolayev, board secretary of the RSFSR Composers' Union, "I fully share—to the extent which my understanding allows—in the article's basic positions, and it seems to me that I comprehend its tone of alarm. Indeed, the atmosphere of mistrust, underestimation, and neglectful scorn in which defense attorneys frequently have to function is an utterly intolerable phenomenon." The opinion regarding the need for cardinal measures to enhance the bar's prestige is shared by the following renowned screenwriters: E. Braginskiy, Ye. Grigoryev, E. Volodarskiy, V. Trunin, the workers V. Belyayev from Moscow, V. Plavinskiy from Minsk, and others.

In expressing their opinions about the bar's problems, many readers go beyond the framework of the juridical system. For example, the engineer V. Soldatenko (Moscow), in complaining about the weakness of the juridical service within the national economy, utters the following thought: "The restructuring period needs a powerful body of defense attorneys. This is a concern of all those who have the task of actually implementing restructuring, showing initiative, and taking chances. And they must be defended, above all, against the dangers of the bureaucratic strata formed in years past."

And here is yet another quite important aspect of the problem. "I have specialized in the area of ideological conflict," writes N. Deyev, a candidate of political sciences. "The infringed-upon status of defense attorneys in our juridical system is scarcely a secret to socialism's enemies in the West. On the contrary, this

circumstance is widely used in anticomunist propaganda for the purpose of discrediting our country's prestige and socialism in general in the public awareness of the West. The following conclusion is clear: the reforms in our political and legal system directed at enhancing the role and prestige of the bar are vitally necessary."

**TOP-PRIORITY MEASURES**

The readers' mail not only sets out the unsatisfactory situation in which the bar finds itself but also contains recommendations for straightening it out.

A serious shortcoming in the bar's work is its urgent need for a well-ordered organizational structure. Its members are isolated even within the borders of union republics. They do not receive the necessary methodological aid, do not know how matters stand with defense attorneys in other republics or oblasts, nor can they take any independent steps. "The justice divisions as well as the republic- and union-level justice ministries prescribe, indicate, and issue orders to us regarding all matters.... They direct us, although this direction, to put it mildly, is not always done competently," writes Yu. Chigarev, deputy secretary of the party organization at a consultation office in the city of Kuybyshev.

In the readers' opinion, these monitoring-limiting methods have led to a reduction of the influx into the bar of young law-school graduates and to an intolerably low total number of defense attorneys. It is, of course, true that on a per-capita basis the USSR has only one-third or one-fourth the number of defense attorneys as the European socialist countries, not to mention the developed capitalist states. Readers propose to return to the bar its original status as a self-governing public organization. Many of our correspondents point to the imperfect system of remunerating defense attorneys as one of the reasons for shortcomings in the functioning of the bar. "As in any field of labor activity, there can be no leveling in evaluating the work of defense attorneys. A defense attorney's labor should also be remunerated in a differentiated manner, depending upon the complexity of the case, skill, time pressure, etc..," writes Reserve Colonel V. Fishelev from the town of Ramenskoye, Moscow Oblast.

Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences L. Bunimovich poses the question sharply. He has gained the impression that for certain participants in a trial "it is extremely advantageous to belittle the defense attorney's role and reduce to naught his influence on the outcome of the case; the 'rate of things brought to light' will be high, and intercessors for the accused will attempt to hand over 'fees' to other officials who have more opportunities to influence matters." V. Zubkov from the city of Sochi did not shrink from stripping this thought to its essentials: "It's clear that a defense attorney's role is to defend. But you will agree that if you know one of the procurators or judges well, you don't need a defender."

Such are the extreme conclusions to which the present-day diminished status of the defense attorney in a trial has led.

Almost every letter approves the proposal to permit a defense attorney to participate in a case before rather than after its investigatory phase.

Certain readers set forth the idea of the need for "family lawyers." V. Vladimirov from the city of Elektrostal, Moscow Oblast writes as follows: "I think that every citizen in our society ought to have his own defense attorney.... How is this to be conceived? A client's subscription payment would be set up, and in case a conflict arose between the individual and the law, all actions of the law-enforcement organs, including the taking of dispositions, interrogations, searches, and the like, would have to be carried out in the defense attorney's presence."

#### BUT WHO ARE THE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS?

This question is deemed most important by the readers. And, for the most part, they answer it correctly. "Of course, the work and renown of a defense attorney," writes G. Abramenko from the city of Voronezh, "depend primarily on the defense attorney himself, on his conduct and handling of his clients, as well as how conscientiously he performs his own duty." However, during her "years of wandering about from one law office to another," she has become convinced that "there are quite a few defense attorneys who operate in a slipshod manner."

The journalist B. Akselrod (from the city of Artemovsk) cites an instance of a defense attorney agreeing to defend an accused person in a complicated and controversial case just half an hour before it was to be heard in court. A reader may rightfully ask: "Could the defense attorney really manage to study all the circumstances of the case, become acquainted with his client's personality, as well as the characterizations and legal motions made against him by the public organizations? And so, the writer's letter concludes, defense attorneys themselves must do a great deal in order to enhance their prestige and the respect for the difficult duties demanded by their learned profession.

Defense attorneys are fully in accord with this. In letters received by the editors from collegium presidiums a good deal of attention is paid to questions of improving the professional training of defense attorneys, for very carefully accepting them into collegiums, and subsequently monitoring their performance.

F. Gusev, a party member since 1918 who has worked in the procuracy for many years, writes as follows: "Who workd as defense attorneys? Procurators, investigators, and judges who have been removed, discharged, and punished by administrative and/or party procedures. This is a vicious practice in many cities and rayons...."

V. Ibragimov and I. Rustamov report from Baku on the scandalous instances of the recent acceptance into a collegium of former judges and investigators who had been expelled from the party.

Not only the acceptance into a collegium but also the election of leading officials who enjoy respect ought to be actively monitored by the community of the bar. A group of defense attorneys from Voronezh has written about the pressure exerted by staff members of the party obkom and the justice division during the election of a new chairman for the collegium's presidium. "We want to elect the chairman by secret ballot at a general meeting of all the oblast's defense attorneys rather than entrusting this task to the presidium, where elections are turned into empty formalities. Such a solution was voted for by 194 out of the 200 defense attorneys attending this meeting. However, the meeting was immediately declared adjourned, and the election did not take place."

In my opinion, specifying the procedure for electing a chairman could be fully granted to the general meeting of a collegium's defense attorneys. Such a measure is consonant with the processes which are occurring in other areas of our life. But, of course, in order to do this, we must introduce an amendment to the republic-level statutes concerning the bar.

#### ITEMS OF AUTHORITY

Upon completing our survey of the readers' letters, we can formulate several conclusions.

The bar constitutes an irreplaceable link in the Soviet legal system. Unless this link is radically strengthened, we risk further encounters with instances of a scornful attitude toward citizens' rights and infringement of their legitimate interests.

Where should we begin? Young lawyers need to be taught how to be good defense attorneys. For this reason we must develop a required course in legal defense and introduce it into law schools.

In a criminal case genuine possibilities must be created for the defense attorney to prevent violations of civil rights, especially in the preliminary investigation; this is a task of importance to the state. We can no longer tolerate leveling in remunerating defense attorneys' work. We need not fear granting defense attorneys more independence in solving their professional problems; the times demand this. Many letters underscore the necessity of uniting the efforts of the bar on a nationwide scale. It is obviously high time that we organized a Union of Soviet Defense Attorneys and a public VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute] for Juridical Defense.

In creating an overall healthy moral climate when it is a matter of the bar's problems, a great deal depends on the position taken by local party and Soviet organs as well as by the mass media.

"But why is it that I've never seen a defense attorney as a deputy of a rayon council or an oblast-level ispolkom?" asks V. Nozdrev, a worker from the city of Kalinin. "Perhaps then the decisions of ispolkoms would be more in accordance with the laws. Because, of course, defense attorneys know them well...." This question sheds sufficient light on the well-defined, official evaluation of defense attorneys' services. Of course, there are defense attorneys among the deputies. For example, there are 206 of them in the RSFSR. Is that too many or too few? It is not difficult to find the answer when we focus our attention on the fact that, while this republic has only half the number of people's judges as it does defense attorneys, the former account for 2,400 deputies. The honorary title of "Honored Jurist of the RSFSR" has been awarded to 268 judges, but only to 14 defense attorneys; furthermore, even those acquired the title, as a rule, by virtue of their earlier work in a court or procuracy. In Moscow 25 defense attorneys have the academic degree of candidate of juridical sciences, but for some reason not a single one is on the staff of either the academic or the specialized councils of the capital's VUZ's or scientific-research institutes. The USSR Supreme Court, Procuracy, and Ministry of Justice, as well as those of the RSFSR, have actively functioning scientific-consultative councils which include scientists and experienced workers. But even there not a single defense attorney is to be seen. Such facts are sufficiently eloquent. Don't we have to start here in restructuring the attitude toward the bar?

In conclusion, I would like to cite an excerpt from the letter by the procurator V. Sharonov (Vladimir Oblast): "Based on my own conscience and professional experience, I declare that defense attorneys are needed in all trials—criminal or civil. In practice they help to implement democratic rights and liberties in the personal sphere of our life. But just what kind of defense attorney do we need? In my opinion, he should be honest and honorable, high-principled, politically mature, and morally pure." Correctly stated. For my own part, let me add that I would like to see these questions embodied in all procurators, investigators, policemen, and judges. Then there really would be complete order on the law-enforcement front.

2384

**Jurist Calls for Reform of AzSSR Criminal Code**  
*18000080a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*  
*28 Oct 87 p 2*

[Article by Kh. Alikperov, candidate of juridical sciences, under the rubric "Notes of a Jurist": "Dictated by Life—The Republic's Criminal Code Needs to be Revised and Updated"]

[Text] The restructuring going on in the country encompasses all aspects of the life of society. A great deal also needs to be revised in the sphere of legislation. A number of branches of the law have been updated in a relatively short period of time. Now the question of fundamentally revising the country's criminal legislation and, in particular, the criminal codes of the Union republics which are not in keeping with the today's tasks and have in many respects become outdated, is a crucial one on the agenda.

Our republic's criminal code is no exception. Quite a few contradictions, mix-ups, and paradoxes have also accumulated in it in the 26 years of its existence. Trying to find a solution somehow, every year it has been subjected to various additions and changes but that has only aggravated the situation. Suffice it to note that about 60 new types of crimes have been put into the law in a quarter of a century! In that same period only seven have been removed from the republic's Criminal Code. As research shows, frequently other negative acts have unjustifiably been raised to the level of crimes, although other measures of influence unrelated to criminal responsibility can be used for them. As a result of this, the number of recorded crimes and people convicted and the number of families where children have been deprived of parents has increased rapidly. Frequently, while removing one type of crime from criminal legislation dozens of new ones were added to it, although at times this was not even objectively necessary.

I shall cite this example. It is no secret that nowadays the problem of drug addiction in the country has become particularly urgent. In this connection the following question has appeared on the agenda: must criminal-legal repression be used in the struggle against this social evil? In many Union republics it was not considered possible to solve the problem by such means. Suffice it to note that in the RSFSR, where the use of drugs has become most widespread, it was not considered advisable to establish criminal responsibility for this, but efforts were directed toward increasing the effectiveness of educational and preventive work. Expanding the medical network for anonymous treatment of drug addicts was also not forgotten. All this will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the struggle against drug addiction.

Unfortunately, this social vice has not bypassed our republic either. Drug addiction has become a subject of serious concern and alarm to party, Soviet, and social organizations. But unlike other Union republics, our republic decided to wage the struggle against drug addiction by making measures against drug addicts tougher. A special and quite rigorous norm was adopted against them—criminal responsibility in the form of deprivation of freedom. Is this advisable? Do such tough measures against essentially sick people have the reverse effect? After all, they may become an insurmountable obstacle for many drug addicts who voluntarily want to be cured.

I would like to ask: why has criminal responsibility not been established for using alcohol and for addiction to toxic substances, which have become widespread. Do they really represent a lesser social danger? Of course not. The point is that in the two latter cases we understand the absurdity of such a measure as imprisonment for the alcoholic and addict to toxic substances and so we approach the problem from a humanitarian standpoint. But even the drug addict, if he has not committed another crime, is a sick person. He needs a hospital ward rather than a prison cell.

One forms the impression that the new statute was created very hastily and mostly for "appearances' sake" in the campaign against drug addiction which has actively begun. Of course, it is much simpler and easier to convict all drug addicts (and among them are quite a few young people who have just started on this dangerous path but still can be saved) and send them to places of imprisonment and thereby cripple them even further. However, in these cases we forget one truism—punishment, no matter how severe, in itself cannot solve such problems. Incidentally, all criminal policy which attributes an auxiliary role to criminal measures in the struggle against antisocial phenomena is built on these principles.

And nonetheless, strange as it may be, in our republic people usually try to solve certain negative problems in precisely this way. Is it not because of this that in the 26 years of existence of the present Criminal Code more than 300 different amendments and additions have been introduced into it? But what has this led to? It has led to a bloating of our republic's Criminal Code; the list of various types of crimes contained in it has reached its apogee and today comprises some 300 "units."

Frequent additions and changes in criminal legislation lead not only to artificial growth in the number of crimes and criminals. In the most negative way it also affects the observance of socialist legality when the law is administered. At times investigators and judges have not managed to properly study a certain newly introduced norm before it is replaced by another. The instability of the republic's criminal legislation, on the one hand, is one of the major reasons for judicial errors which have become more frequent in recent years and, on the other hand, it results in a poor understanding of existing laws among the population. But knowledge of the law is an important factor in the cause of preventing violations of the law! It should be added to this that frequent changes in criminal (and other) legislation requires continual republication of codices and they have become scarce.

But who, one asks, is to blame for the situation which has taken shape? In my opinion, those departments which prepare drafts of these laws are to blame. In making decisions the Supreme Soviet proceeds from the assumption that the competent organs have studied this question on a preliminary and comprehensive basis and have

studied the opinions of specialists and scientists. However, at times the republic's scientists find out about the new laws only after their adoption, as happened with the Law on Drug Addiction.

It seems that the time has come for law enforcement organs which have the right of legislative initiative, before petitioning for additions to and changes in the Criminal Code, to present them for broad discussion. This will only help the cause.

Of course, one must not say that all the changes and additions introduced into the republic's Criminal Code were not socially necessary. Frequently they were dictated by life itself. It is no accident that the republic's working people enthusiastically accepted the introduction of criminal responsibility for hijacking an aircraft and for involving minors in drunkenness and other antisocial phenomena.

Today life itself and the social-moral situation which has taken shape demand that the republic's Criminal Code be revised. A pressing need has arisen to create a scientifically substantiated and just code of criminal legislation in which internal norms agree not only among themselves but also with the moral and ethical norms of society.

I will note that presently working commissions to prepare a draft of a new Criminal Code have been set up in many Union republics. However, strange as it may be, there is no such commission in our republic. Obviously (as in past years) we are waiting for the RSFSR and other large Union republics to adopt criminal codes. Then we will modify them a little and translate them into the national language and after that report: we have created our own Criminal Code! By the way, the present code was adopted in precisely that way. As practice shows, such a path will hardly allow us to create criminal legislation which combines within it the continuity of the main directions of the country's criminal policy and the uniqueness of our national characteristics!

The republic has the necessary potential to independently resolve this question. Today we have fairly important legal scholars and specialists who, taking into account the achievements of science, the demands of Soviet criminal law, and the progressive practices of other Union republics, are capable of creating a progressive and just Criminal Code with a realistic list of the types of crimes and sensible punishment measures for them!

It is up to those whose jurisdiction includes organizing this work. The scholars and practitioners are not holding things up!

**LiSSR Sociologists Survey Youth Response to Foreign Broadcasts**

18000080b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
16 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by A. Lyakhov, junior scientific associate of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law and candidate of juridical sciences: "Poison in a Pretty Package"]

[Text] A special role in the development of the idea of cooperation and mutual understanding between peoples belongs to the mass media. They are supposed to create the most favorable conditions for increasing trust among countries through honest, complete, and objective coverage of the events occurring in the world. But in fact certain mass media organs in the West are turning into a means of struggle against the forces of peace and progress. Western radio stations' practice of broadcasting to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a particularly clear example. Special services involved in organizing broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and other languages of the peoples of our country have been set up at all the main Western radio stations (Voice of America, BBC, Radio Vatican, Voice of Israel, and so on).

But what is the impact of these broadcasts? In May-June of this year associates of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law conducted a survey of public opinion among young students in Vilnius and one of its goals was to obtain an answer to this question.

In conducting the survey special attention was naturally paid to precisely those broadcasts of Western radio stations in Russian and in Lithuanian. Results showed that these broadcasts have quite a large audience. Only about one quarter of those surveyed indicated that they did not listen to broadcasts of foreign radio stations at all.

As the main reason for young people turning to such broadcasts, 56 percent of the students indicated interest in recent music recordings and news of music life. So one of the most popular radio stations among youth was Radio Luxemburg, which does not have special broadcasts in Russian but allots the main part of its air time to music programs.

Despite such a clear preference for music broadcasts, it is not only those broadcasts which draw young people to their radios. Quite a large number of those surveyed (38 percent) are interested in the broadcasts of Western radio stations on the latest news of world events, 29 percent—on information about the Western way of life, and 23 percent of those surveyed find out about events in the USSR from the broadcasts of foreign radio stations. Those surveyed most often turn to the broadcasts of Voice of America. About half of the students listen to it. In second place is "respectable" BBC. Such a

nonmusical radio station as Radio Vatican enjoys a certain popularity. Quite a substantial number of those surveyed derive their knowledge about the international situation and the Western way of life from broadcasts of such subversive radio stations as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe (12 and 16 percent, respectively).

The fact that they find their audience in our country cannot fail to alert us.

Certain tendencies have also been observed in studying the degree of trust of those surveyed in what they hear "from over there." Only 2 percent of the young people completely trust these "voices," but the degree of trust in them is still considerable. School children and pupils in vocational-technical schools trust in these broadcasts most of all. About one third partially recognize the fairness of their evaluation. Of those surveyed 45 percent noted that on the whole these broadcasts were interesting but there were many lies in them. In fact the form of delivery and organization are constructed so as to make them as attractive as possible. Unfortunately, many young people have not yet learned how to distinguish the hissing snakes behind this pretty facade.

These radio voices use other means to slander the image of the USSR without disdaining to offer their studios to known criminals, passing them off as "champions of freedom." The revelations of the former USSR citizen Simokaytis, who served 15 years in prison for an attempted aircraft hijacking which has already been written about in detail on the pages of the republic's press, can serve as an example. Along with rock music, altogether offensive things are presented in a pretty package. The well-known music commentator of the Russian services of the BBC Seva Novgorodtsev does not miss an opportunity to accuse our country of "lack of freedom of creativity, suppression of political opposition, and lack of democracy." What value was there to his commentary on the record by the Leningrad rock group "Red Wave", which came out at the start of this year in the United States circumventing Soviet law! A large part of the commentary was devoted not to analyzing the musical merits of the works presented in this album but to a description of the repression which supposedly took place against the musicians who took part in the recording. But in fact there was no such repression at all. And now groups whose works were presented on this record are actively appearing in concerts and on television and one of them—"Aquarium" is preparing to issue a large album at the "Melodiya" firm.

In summarizing the results of the study as a whole, one may say that the broadcasts of Western radio stations are not achieving the goal which their authors set for them—discrediting the Soviet sociopolitical system in young people's eyes. However, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the propaganda of Western radio voices still affects part of the young listeners and has a negative effect.

Mirror-like, the study has illuminated many problems facing the Komsomol organizations and mass information organs. Thus, it seems necessary to qualitatively improve the work of the music editorial office of radio and television; after all, rock music is the candy for the sake of which many young people tune their radios to the different radio voices. The form of handling information releases should obviously be improved and they should be made more attractive to youth. Radio and especially television must become more efficient in covering what is happening. The crucial and sometimes even unpleasant features in events being covered must not be ignored in silence, especially since in present conditions it is precisely this maximum honesty which is expected from mass information organs. It is important to oppose the allusions and half-truths of the Western radio stations with a well-documented, sober, and objective position. After all it is no secret that Western propaganda is constructed so as to influence the subconscious. Such propaganda has success when there is not full knowledge and there is doubt and hesitation.

Therefore we must also find new unusual ways to refine ideological and indoctrinal work in the primary Komsomol organizations of high schools and vocational-technical schools and devote more attention to explaining the complex, critical problems which now face our society.

12424

#### Kirgiz Supreme Court Critizes Work of Local Judges

18000112a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 29 Oct 87 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Kirgiz SSR"]

[Text] The regular Plenum of the KiSSR Supreme Court has been held. Following a report by Z. Dzhamashev, chairman of the republic Supreme Court, the question of improving the activity of judges to administer justice and strengthen legality in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress was reviewed. It was noted that most republic judges are carrying out the instructions of the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court and the Plenum of the KiSSR Supreme Court on administering justice on the basis of strict compliance with legality and the democratic principles of socialist justice, and the indoctrinal and preventive impact of court proceedings has improved somewhat. At the same time, there are still significant shortcomings in the activity of republic judges.

Judges are moving slowly to restructure their work in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress, have not achieved a fundamental improvement in the quality of work and ensuring strict compliance with socialist legality, do not always follow the requirements of the law

regarding a comprehensive, complete, and objective investigation of the circumstances of the case, and make mistakes in evaluating proof and applying legal norms.

Quite frequently judges do not demand the proper high standards of the court investigation. There are still cases of unfounded conviction of citizens and incorrect classification of the act committed, and the requirements of the law concerning individualizing the penalty with consideration of the nature and degree of social dangers of the crime committed, the character of the guilty person, and the circumstances of the case are not always consistently followed.

Many judges are not giving adequate attention to identifying and eliminating the factors and conditions that promote the commission of crimes and civil offenses. Few special orders are made, and their performance is poorly monitored.

The judicial collegiums of the Supreme Court, the oblast courts, and the Frunze city court still are not supervising the activities of lower-ranking courts effectively enough and do not always ensure that mistakes are promptly eliminated. They themselves often violate the law.

In its decree the Plenum demanded that republic judges eliminate the shortcomings that have been noted in their work and take additional steps toward unconditional fulfillment of the orders of the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court and the KiSSR Supreme Court on these questions and issued a number of orders and clarifications. In connection with the need to expand the openness [glasnost] of court activity we must more broadly involve representatives of labor collectives and public organizations in court work during the hearing of civil and criminal cases, hear more of them in traveling court sessions, and take steps to present the results of decisions in cases of current interest in the press and on radio and television. Copies of the decisions and verdicts in such cases should be sent to labor collectives and public organizations for discussion. Judges should participate more in discussing them at meetings.

The attention of the court collegiums of the Supreme Court, the oblast courts, and the Frunze city court was drawn to the need for a more effective influence to ensure that courts apply the law correctly and uniformly in carrying on legal proceedings. To this end we must improve quality and ensure thorough study of judicial practice in civil and criminal cases and improve the quality of the summaries sent to the courts, coordinating this work more closely with organs of the Ministry of Justice, the Procuracy, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kirgiz SSR.

Following a report by M. A. Yulina, a member of the KiSSR Supreme Court, the question of court practices in applying the suspended sentence were reviewed and shortcomings in the work of republic judges in applying this law were pointed out.

KiSSR Procurator G. I. Ivantsov and KiSSR Minister of Justice M. Alymbekov participated in the work of the Plenum.

11176

**Uzbek Supreme Soviet Discusses Republic Justice Ministry**  
*18000112b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian*  
*27 Nov 87 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR"]

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Court was held in Tashkent on 26 November under the chairmanship of A. P. Romanovskiy, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Court.

The Presidium reviewed the work of the UzSSR Ministry of Justice with cadres of judges. B. G. Alimdzhanov, republic minister of justice, presented a report. A. G. Kadin, chairman of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet, presented a communique on behalf of the group of deputies who took part in preparing this question.

It was observed that the Ministry of Justice and its organs, guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of the party Central Committee, have begun to give more attention to work with cadres of judges and improving the administration of justice. These matters have recently been considered more often at sessions of collegiums and court employees are making a growing contribution to normalizing the moral-psychological climate in the republic and purging society of negative phenomena. But this work is still far from meeting the demands of the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Legal Order, Reinforcing the Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens." The level of administration of justice in the republic still has not been purged of serious shortcomings, which arouses justified criticism by working people.

Each year many court decisions are reversed and modified because of incomplete and one-sided hearing of criminal cases and violations of citizens' constitutional rights, the principle of individualized punishment, and the norms of criminal procedure.

The peoples courts have not been purged of instances of liberalism in relation to people who steal public property, give and take bribes, engage in speculation, and stubbornly refuse to engage in honest labor. To a significant number of persons convicted of theft, bribery, and speculation the judges did not apply confiscation of property. The timetables established by law for hearing cases are often flagrantly violated. There are cases where

the hearing of cases is deliberately dragged out and where citizens are convicted without grounds through the incompetence of the judges.

Bureaucratism is still widespread in the work of certain judges. The Ministry of Justice is not waging an effective fight against these phenomena, and the heads of the departments of justice of the Navoy, Tashkent, Kashkak-Darya, Surkhan-Darya, Fergana, Andizhan, and Dzhizak oblispolkoms and the Tashkent gorispolkom have in reality removed themselves from this work.

A fundamental improvement is needed in organizing work to carry out court decisions, especially for reimbursement of material loss caused by criminals. There continue to be large numbers of complaints by working people about shortcomings in the work of court organs, but the ministry often reviews them in a formalistic way and does not draw the proper conclusions.

It was noted at the meeting that executives of the ministry and its subordinate organs do not give sharp, principled evaluations of the work of judges and do not take effective steps to eliminate shortcomings and omissions. The chiefs of personnel administrations and court organs of the ministry and the oblast departments of justice do not properly study cadres in their practical work or thoroughly analyze compliance with socialist legality. The questionnaire approach in studying the work and moral qualities of personnel is not being vigorously eliminated, secrecy, low standards, and lack of glasnost in selection and placement are permitted, and a good-quality, dependable reserve has not been created.

Proper concern is not being shown for creating the necessary conditions for courts. Many of them are housed in unsuitable quarters that do not meet the demands of the administration of justice.

The Presidium noted that the work of the UzSSR Ministry of Justice to improve the activity of the judges, strengthen socialist legality, and protect citizens' rights does not meet current demands and ordered a fundamental restructuring of activity in this area. Along with this the UzSSR Supreme Court was commissioned to work out and implement measures to reinforce supervision of the quality of court hearing of criminal and civil cases and give the courts the necessary help in carrying out their duties. It was recommended that the UzSSR Procuracy step up the effectiveness of procuratorial supervision of precise and unconditional compliance with legality by the courts.

The Presidium ordered republic soviets of peoples deputies to give all possible assistance to the courts in their work of administering justice, to intensify their management and monitoring of the work of justice organs, to strengthen their ties with labor collectives and the population, and to ensure systematic review at sessions and

meetings of standing commissions and ispolkoms of reports and communiques by the heads of courts and justice organs about their activities and the state of the legal system.

The session also considered other questions of state life in the republic and adopted appropriate decisions.

Participating in discussion of the questions on the agenda were second secretary of the UzSSR Communist Party V. P. Anishev, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet T. A. Yeshimbetova, and members of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet P. M. Abdurakhmanov, K. Yu. Akhunbabayev, P. P. Melnikov, and G. A. Stefanovskiy.

11176

### Armenian Procuracy Evaluates Progress of Restructuring

*Yerevan KOMMUNIST* in Russian 29 Nov 87 p 1

[Article under the rubric "At the Procuracy of the Armenian SSR": "In a Self-Critical, Demanding Manner".]

[Text] An expanded session of the collegium of the ArSSR Procuracy with the participation of city and rayon procurators has been held. It discussed progress in restructuring the activity of procuracy organs in light of the demands of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the July 1987 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, and the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "Measures to Enlarge the Role of Procuratorial Supervision in Strengthening Socialist Legality and Legal Order."

How is procuratorial supervision being carried out in conditions of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost? What important areas and timely questions are the focuses of attention for employees of procuracy organs? What shortcomings and omissions are there and what are the effective ways to achieve qualitative changes in the work? How can new impetus be given to restructuring the activity of procuracy organs? These matters were the subject of a business-like, self-critical discussion at the collegium.

It was observed that the republic procuracy is carrying out a program of measures for fundamental restructuring of procuratorial supervision and enlarging its role in strengthening legality and legal order. This restructuring is founded on the goals developed by the party of making maximum use of legal levers and procuratorial powers in the interests of successful implementation of the tasks of socioeconomic development and expansion of socialist democracy. To this end the attention of the republic procuracy and its local organs has been concentrated on the most important, priority areas of procuratorial activity: the fight against theft of socialist property, speculation, bribery, other forms of extracting non-labor income,

false reporting, production of poor-quality output, violations of delivery contracts, and the campaign against crime; uncovering crimes; environmental protection and rational use of natural resources; and defending the rights and legal interests of citizens.

In just the last few months procuracy organs, in coordination with the militia and coordinating organs, have identified a number of groups of major thieves and bribe-takers in the Gosagroprom, light industry, trade, construction, and other systems. For theft on an especially large scale Miskaryan, chairman of the Kirovakan DOSAAF gorkom, Ayvazyan, chairman of the Stepanavan Forestry Enterprise, the directors of garment production sections of the association of the blind in Echmiadzinskiy, Ashtarakskiy, and Artashatskiy rayons, Mirzoyan, director of the Spitak city cooperative trade enterprise, Yedigaryan, director of the combine of municipal service enterprises of the Abovyan City Soviet, and others who, in conspiracy with materially responsible persons subordinate to them, stole money and assets worth more than 3 million rubles from the state, have been brought to accountability. Major bribe-takers and speculators (the director of the Yerevan depot of Armstroyoptorg, the chief physician at the Ankavan sanatorium, and the chairman of the trade union committee at the Leninakan Railroad Car Depot) have been exposed.

The fight against false reporting and other violations of state and economic discipline has been stepped up. Based on the results of audits made by city and rayon procuracies in the first 9 months of this year, about 2,000 officials were brought to disciplinary and material accountability and more than 20 executives were brought to criminal accountability for false reporting and production of defective goods. Procurators have brought more than 2,000 suits worth a total of 1.7 million rubles to court, and they all have been granted.

It has become the practice in general supervision work for the results of procuratorial audits to be the subject of public review with participation by procurators at sessions of the collegiums of ministries and departments, of economic organs, and in labor collectives. This work is now being closely coordinated with organizational measures by party and soviet organs.

At the same time primary attention at the collegium was dedicated to a critical review of the shortcomings which were discussed in a sharp, principled manner at the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. The restructuring of work is still going slowly. Steps taken by the procurator in response do not always have a real impact on strengthening legality, especially in the economic sphere. Extraction of non-labor income continues to be widespread, the efforts of economic and monitoring organs and BKhSS [Fight against Theft of Socialist Property] services are wasted in

ineffective audits, many channels of theft are not being closed off, and a dependable way to stop thieves, bribe-takers, speculators, and persons who extort fees has not been created.

Work to strengthen state discipline does not meet the heightened demands. Although there are numerous instances of false reporting in construction and vehicle transportation in Yerevan and Nairiyskiy, Masissskiy, and Kafanskiy rayons strict measures are not being taken with the deceivers. The struggle against production of defective goods is not being waged vigorously in Lenakan or in Shaumyanskiy, Artikskiy, Spitakskiy, Sevanskiy, and Idzhevanskay rayons. Procuratorial supervision in the fight against violations of state discipline in delivery of output is inadequate, particularly at industrial enterprises in the cities of Yerevan and Kirovakan and in Idzhevanskay, Noyemberyanskay, and Araratskiy rayons.

The situation with compliance with legality in the agroindustrial complex is being improved too slowly in some rayons. The procurators of Gugarkskiy, Sisianskiy, Ashtarakskiy, Gorisskiy, Azizbekovskiy, and several other rayons are sometimes passive in organizing supervision of execution of the laws on ensuring preservation of agricultural equipment, in the sphere of animal husbandry, and on questions of ensuring preservation of feed and the livestock herd.

In the struggle against mismanagement the potential of legal, accounting, and other services of RAPO's and farms and of local monitoring orgns have not been adequately involved. It was suggested that procurators make a fundamental change in the situation with the fight against these negative phenomena.

Significant shortcomings and omissions continue to occur in organizing the fight against crime. The number of serious crimes has increased in Kafanskiy, Araratskiy, Martuninskay, and Stepanavanskay rayons. Theft of citizens' personal property, including apartment theft, and automobile accidents with fatalities arouse special concern. A decisive turning point still has not been made in the fight against drunkenness, drug addiction, and parasitism. The procurators' attention was drawn to the need to concentrate maximum attention on the fight against these crimes and to stepping up the preventive thrust of procuratorial supervision.

It was specially emphasized that investigative organs need to restructure their work in uncovering crimes and to implement the demands of the law on the irreversibility of punishment for crimes committed. The situation with uncovering crimes is unsatisfactory in Sovetskiy Rayon of the city of Yerevan and in Artashatskiy, Oktemberyanskay, and Sisianskiy rayons. It was suggested to the procurators of cities and rayons that they concentrate their primary efforts on prompt exposure of crimes and investigation of the most complex and important crimes committed by officials and other cases

of greater state importance. A rigorous and balanced approach should be taken to deciding questions of the responsibility of officials and citizens, barring any formalism or lack of objectivity in this matter.

It was noted that there are still instances in the work of procuracy organs of violation of professional ethics, improper behavior, unconscientious performance of official duties, prejudice and lack of objectivity in examining citizens' complaints, and the investigation and hearing of criminal cases in court. In the last 2 years a number of procuracy and investigative employees have been brought to strict disciplinary accountability. The procurators of Kalininskay, Masissskiy, Stepanavanskay, Kafanskiy, and Artikskiy rayons were removed from their positions for serious shortcomings and omissions in their work. A number of procuracy and investigative employees were discharged from procuracy organs. It was emphasized that the decisive criteria in evaluating cadres are the attitude of procuracy employees toward restructuring, high professionalism, high principles, the ability to resist localism and departmentalism, and implacable hostility toward any violations of the law.

The city and rayon procurators who spoke at the collegium session were critical and principled in their comments on the shortcomings and omissions that continue to exist in the work and noted that they are not making adequate use of the power and new legal means that have been given to them to prevent and identify crimes; not all of them are ready to assume their responsibility for the progress of restructuring.

The collegium laid out additional steps to ensure fulfillment of the tasks that face procuracy organs in light of the demands of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the July 1987 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

11176

#### **Uzbek Procurator Describes Fight Against Economic Crime**

*18000123 Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 (signed to press 28 Sep 87) pp 49-56*

[Article by O. Gaydanov, deputy procurator of the UzSSR: "Lessons of the Past and Concerns of Today"]

[Text] The cases of a disdainful attitude toward the observance of legality that have taken place in the republic in recent years, the arbitrary decisions of some heads of ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, and other officials, who ignored the laws and principles of social justice set forth in the Soviet Constitution, resulted in serious costs of a political and moral nature, had a negative effect on the state of the economy, and contributed to a significant spread of inflated reporting, embezzlement, bribery and other

crimes. The slowing of the pace of the social and economic development of Uzbekistan that began in the late 1970's and early 1980's as a result of serious miscalculations was deliberately hushed up and the true state of affairs was distorted in every way through deception. Thus, in cotton growing, every year large sown areas were purposely not recorded and the volumes of procured raw cotton were raised by hundreds of thousands of tons.

In investigating criminal cases involving official and economic crimes committed in the procurement and processing of raw cotton, the procurator's office of the republic determined that they became possible not only because they were not stopped but also because at times they were even encouraged by managers, frequently including soviet and party workers. And in most cases, this was by no means done for unselfish reasons. Brigade leaders managing farm departments and accountants entering into criminal deals at the initiative of their managers participated in the drawing up of false documents for the purpose of embezzling large sums of money. In this way, funds were obtained for bribing workers of cotton collection centers and cotton mills, who, once they received the bribes, issued fictitious receipts on the acceptance of immature raw cotton. They were not bothered by the fact that the inflated reporting resulted in shortfalls. But the cotton mills were not the final link in the chain. When after processing the raw cotton there was a shortage of the basic forms of output—fiber, lint, seeds and ulyuk—they sought criminal ties with the enterprises of light industry and in the systems for trade and domestic services. Here, again through large bribes, they accepted by-products from plants under the guise of being cotton fiber. Sometimes they simplified matters considerably by taking money and issuing the necessary documents. Nor did the criminal chain end there: they hid the shortage of raw material and finished output in the reporting, resorting to more and more new machinations.

It can be said that the criminals operated in sight of the responsible workers of the system of a number of republic ministries and departments (some of them have since been abolished). They, of course, knew very well what measures should be taken to eradicate negative occurrences in cotton growing. But the audits and checks of the financial and economic activity of associations and enterprises were carried out superficially and did not show the true situation. In addition, some officials, obligated by the nature of their work to oppose infringements of socialist property, were themselves active participants in economic crimes. An economic planning study carried out on the basis of the statistical data of the Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry utilizing the results of the investigation of so-called "cotton" practices, showed that over 6 years the direct shortages of raw cotton, above-standard wastes and fiber wastes exceeded 1 million tons for a total sum of several hundred million rubles. Wages paid for raw cotton that was not, in fact, turned over amounted to millions of rubles.

An investigation has now been completed of hundreds of criminal "cotton" practices. Investigatory groups have ensured the indemnification for losses there amounting to about 60 million rubles. Much work has been done in preventing analogous crimes in Uzbekistan's cotton growing. Thus, there were explanatory talks in labor collectives and the utilization of the materials of the investigation raised the efficiency of propaganda measures. It is very important that in all cases they determined the reasons and conditions contributing to the committing of crimes on such a large scale.

The results of the investigation of criminal cases and the analysis of economic indicators led to a common conclusion: expenditures per ruble of commodity output have been increasing significantly and profitability has been declining since 1978 and the production of cotton fiber in the republic began to be unprofitable starting in 1981. They tried to hide this situation, creating the appearance of well-being. For example, All-Union State Standards were not observed at cotton procurement centers, which was reflected in an incorrect evaluation of the raw cotton accepted, a lowering of the actual indicators of its humidity and impurity, an increase in the product mix, and an inaccurate determination of the quality weight.

The intrigues were also aided by the fact that the USSR Ministry of Light Industry did not work out standardized acts determining the order and methods for coordinating the plans for the production of cotton output with the plans for its delivery. This permitted the formation in Uzbekistan of significant volumes of cotton output not distributed in the established order, which for bribes was later shipped without work orders. The investigation established that in this case, instead of the cotton fiber indicated in the documents, they shipped another cheaper cotton product.

It is now not easy to destroy well-established roots. The past is tenacious. In 1985 and 1986, the republic's own investigatory agencies again uncovered large groups of swindlers and plunderers in agriculture, the food industry and other sectors. Some economic managers could not or did not want to reform and again made use of the worn and slippery path, taking others along with them. The criminal cases of those arrested sovkhoz directors guilty of inflated reporting and embezzlement had not yet been concluded when the new managers appointed to take their places committed inflated reporting of procured cotton in Karakalpakska ASSR and Dzhizak and Surkhandarya oblasts.

One of the main reasons for the widespread embezzlement in Uzbekistan's cotton growing was, as investigations showed, the lack of glasnost in the counting up the wages of kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers, which created the conditions for the inclusion of persons not

really working in the expenditure documents (lists). These illegally tallied monetary funds were then withdrawn to be transferred in the form of bribes or were appropriated.

"Cotton" practices helped investigatory groups delve into analogous crimes in other sectors of the national economy of Uzbekistan as well. The systems for trade, sericulture and animal husbandry were literally infested with mismanagement, inflated reporting, embezzlement and bribery. Many of these crimes were committed over years before the eyes of members of labor collectives, the public and control agencies. But they kept silent, even though they were obligated to protect state interests. Why did hardly anyone sound the alarm in time?

To a certain degree, the answer is in the habit of deference to rank and absolute obedience, the shifting of the concepts of good and evil, social values and objectives, and the broad scope of misconduct. The managers of a whole range of departments and even several party committees and ispolkoms of oblast and rayon soviets of people's deputies were infected with the thirst for easy profits. Bribes also opened the way for unearned honors, shielded people against criticism and checks, and helped to see that workers of the agencies of internal affairs, the procurator's office, the courts and control sometimes closed their eyes even to clear violations of Soviet laws.

For this reason, the opinions stated by some to the effect that there were special conditions in Uzbekistan and that one should therefore not prosecute for misconduct are extremely dangerous and essentially harmful. How, for example, did they behave toward warnings of misconduct? They often were not checked out and, in a number of cases, honest citizens who informed about bribery and inflated reporting were subjected to persecution and even prosecuted for "slander." Thus, it is clear from the publications of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* what persecution the teacher Dilmuradov from Kashkadarya Oblast was subjected to for his high-mindedness. The journalist Takhimbetov from Karakalpakiya suffered the same kind of hounding. He was expelled from the party, prosecuted and condemned for criticizing responsible officials who inflated reports, misused their offices and planted protectionism on the basis of nepotism.

The illegality in relation to Dilmuradov, Takhimbetov and others subjected to persecution has been eliminated with the restoration of their honorable name. The workers of the procurator's office, internal affairs agencies and court who were guilty in this matter were taken strictly to task. A number of criminal cases have now been raised for violations of legality.

The widespread nature of inflated reporting, embezzlement and bribery led to the corruption and degeneration of some personnel. Managers of Bukhara, Navoi, Khozreza and Karakalpakiya oblast party committees were

prosecuted. Misconduct was the reason for the condemnation of a large number of directors of sovkhozes and cotton mills and kolkhoz chairmen.

There is the widespread opinion in the republic that all those are prosecuted who were involved in inflated reports and the preparation of fictitious documents on the procurement and processing of raw cotton. This is not correct. In the investigation and judicial review of cases in this category, the law-enforcement agencies of Uzbekistan take a differentiated approach, with obligatory consideration of all the circumstances of the crime. As a result, only the organizers and active participants in the crimes are prosecuted. Farm specialists, brigade leaders, procurers, counters and other workers permitting illegal actions under the outside pressure of managers and not taking possession of the embezzled funds are not brought to account. In connection with them, it has been decided to limit action to public, disciplinary, economic and party measures.

Violations of legality led to the fact that the principle of the unavoidability of punishment for crimes committed was not guaranteed everywhere in the republic. As a result, it became possible for persons involved in embezzlement and bribery as in the case of Muminov, working as the director of Uchtepinskiy Cotton Mill in Dzhizak Oblast (in a search of his home, valuables totaling more than 1.5 million rubles were confiscated), and Kudratov, director of the Bukhara city trade organization for industrial commodities, from whom valuables worth more than 4 million rubles were confiscated, to remain undisclosed for a long time. Such tendencies, profoundly foreign to our way of life, existed in most oblasts of Uzbekistan. Also contributing to this was the fact that a certain part of the workers of law-enforcement agencies was afflicted with private-property and selfish strivings. Instead of putting a stop to the criminal activity of plunderers of socialist property, these people covered it up for bribes and entered into collusion with so-called "dealers," embezzlers of state property. Just from Muzafarov, former head of the BKhSS [Fight Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] of the Bukhara Internal Affairs Administration, condemned by the USSR Supreme Court for bribery, money and valuables worth about 2 million rubles were confiscated in a search of his home.

Today investigatory practice pushes us into contact not with the usual self-seekers and extortionists, bribe-takers and plunderers but with persons who not so long ago were highly honored and respected, whose activities were beyond criticism. One can also include among them the managers of Politotdel Kolkhoz in Tashkent Oblast. Utilizing criminal ties with a number of responsible persons in the oblast and republic, they viewed the collective farm as their own estate. An investigation established that there was inflated reporting and embezzlement at the kolkhoz and utilized lands were not registered. The total damage caused the kolkhoz by the actions of the former managers amounted to more than 1 million rubles.

For a long time, the chairman of Navoi Oblispolkom Asatov collected tribute from subordinates. The total sum of the bribes that he received amounted to about 100,000 rubles. Navoi Oblast suffered considerable losses as a result of his criminal activity.

The farms suffered considerable damage through the activities of former managers Mirzakulov and Khadraliyev of the Kommunisticheskiy and Galabinskiy party raykoms, respectively, and Khalikov of the Shakhrisabzskiy Raykom in Kashkadarya Oblast. They and a number of other party leaders have been prosecuted and condemned.

Such a situation could not help but be reflected in the overall state of law and order. Crime in the republic has increased from year to year, especially serious crimes. The main preconditions for such a situation, besides those noted, were the deviation of part of the population from socially useful work, the extraction of unearned income through various means, and the prevalence of drunkenness and drug addiction. The fight against these phenomena required the full efforts of law enforcement agencies, the public and labor collectives.

Under such conditions, relying on the daily help of the Procuracy of the USSR and of other union republics, measures were taken to strengthen law and order and legality and to restore the norms and principles of social justice in Uzbekistan.

Above all the agencies of the procurator's office were purged of procurator-investigative workers who had compromised themselves and of those who showed professional unsoundness and inability to work under the conditions of sharply higher demands on personnel; all sections from top to bottom were strengthened with high-minded honest workers. Analogous measures were taken by the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs.

At the present time, in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Measures to Raise the Role of the Procurator's Supervision in the Strengthening of Socialist Legality" (June 1987), a fundamental restructuring of the work of the agencies of the procurator's office is under way. The main efforts are aimed at strengthening legality in the economic area, fighting parochialism and departmentalism, and ensuring the realization of the principle of social justice. The style and methods of the work are being improved and an atmosphere of high demands is being affirmed in the agencies of the procurator's office so that every procurator can be a firm defender of the interests of the state and act with initiative and full efficiency in the assigned area. At the present time, the main efforts of the investigative system are concentrated on the investigation of embezzlement, bribery, other crimes by officials, and serious crimes against persons.

In its overall supervisory work, the procurator's office pays much attention to the establishment of an atmosphere of strict responsibility and specific demands for the observance of the socialist principles of management established in the law. Legislation and the entire practice of law enforcement must actively help in the introduction of economic methods of administration, the development of initiative and socialist enterprise, an improvement in the quality of output, and the elimination of bureaucratic hindrances slowing scientific-technical progress, that is, everything that was set forth in the decisions of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The task has been set of having every investigator of the agencies of the procurator's office and internal affairs be an example of high political and professional standards and a model of honesty, high-mindedness and incorruptibility. Each of his acts must teach respect for the law and be morally irreproachable.

The workers of the agencies of the procurator's office have been justly reproached for frequently keeping silent about negative occurrences and covering up matters that have long been rumored. And this is a rich soil for the spread of all kinds of untruths and fabrications that sometimes crudely distort reality.

For this reason, there has recently been a significant increase in glasnost in our work and the public in the republic as well as in the country at large is being better informed about measures taken in Uzbekistan to strengthen legality. In this connection, particular attention is being paid to the formation of correct ideas about the processes taking place in the republic, without sensationalism and the detachment of legal information from actual public and law enforcement practice.

The time has now come when it is essential to do more to inform the public about the state of criminality and the observance of legality. It is also necessary to do a better job of illuminating the work of the investigatory system and law enforcement agencies as a whole. Glasnost greatly activates the fight against violations of the law.

Last year, the newspaper *Pravda Vostoka* published an article prepared by the procurator's office of the UzSSR entitled "Inevitability." It used specific examples to analyze the reasons for the spread of embezzlement, inflated reports and bribery in the republic. Within 2 months, under the rubric "Resonance," the editor's office published a selection of readers' responses to this article. In one of the letters, veteran of labor E. Amanov writes: "Frankness is the main thing in this article. And I would like to respond to it with the same frankness. Where did we find out about the facts described in the article 'Inevitability'? From the whisper in line, from the idle talk at the table. What is the truth, what is an invention, and what is malicious slander—try to find

out." In their responses to the article, readers, while approving its publication, reflect on their personal attitude toward the questions raised and on their civic position.

Today the party is not hiding the miscalculations, distortions and mistakes made in the country but is talking honestly and openly about the state of affairs. If we do not tell the whole truth about yesterday and about how the work is going today, if we do not analyze all blunders critically, and if we do not draw the correct conclusions, then repetition of the mistakes is inevitable.

The daily explanation of juridical norms to citizens and their education in a spirit of respect for the law gives them a sense of solidarity with the law, that is, an internal willingness to fulfill its demands. The procurator's office of the UzSSR and its local agencies are striving to strengthen ties with journalists and to raise the effectiveness of newspaper articles and television and radio broadcasts explaining Soviet laws; they have recently been making bolder use of the possibilities of the documentary film. A public council for the propagandizing of knowledge of the law has been established under the editor's office of the newspaper *Pravda Vostoka*. In addition to press workers, its staff includes representatives of the procurator's office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Justice. As a result, they are now more often publishing articles on questions of the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order as well as the campaign against violations of state and labor discipline, sponging and mismanagement prepared by workers of the procurator's office together with journalists.

Most cities and rayons together with editor's offices are formulating unified subject plans for the appearances of workers of the agencies of the procurator's office in the press, television and radio. An analysis is being made of newspaper publications and television and radio broadcasts dealing with questions involved in legal propaganda and the prevention of violations of the law and telling about the participation of the public in the protection of socialist property and the campaign against unearned income. This helps to increase the efficiency and quality of publications and they are better coordinated with specific social and economic tasks.

In coordination with party committees, entire pages are periodically devoted to materials on legal subjects in a number of oblast, city and rayon newspapers. There they comment on the results of general supervisory checks, the state of legality and the results of the investigation and judicial review of the most topical criminal cases. Readers are very much interested in publications based on materials dealing with the supervision by the procurator's office of current questions of civil, labor and family law. The workers of the agencies of the procurator's office have begun to make extensive use of large-circulation plant and VUZ newspapers. Various seminars, press conferences and round table discussions are held on the most important legal problems.

In accordance with a decision of the republic procurator's office approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, explanatory talks were held among the public on the course of the fight against negative occurrences. Meetings were held between investigative workers of the procurator's office and labor collectives of industrial enterprises, construction, transportation, communications, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There the procurators reported on specific measures taken for the purpose of eradicating drunkenness, mismanagement, bribery, inflated reporting and other violations of legality. At many places, they held "open-letter days" and question-and-answer evenings, in which there was thorough and frank discussion of urgent and burning questions. The workers of the law enforcement agencies answered the questions worrying working people and explained the positions of laws in effect.

The April (1985) and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee called for a significant improvement of ideological-training work. It was noted that the main shortcoming here is formalism and needless lecturing. Losses are frequently caused by empty talk and the inability to speak the language of truth to people. And it sometimes happens that a person hears one thing and sees something else. This is a serious question, being not only educational but also political.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of these conclusions for the life of our republic, where various violations of legality and the inaction of some workers of law enforcement agencies had an extremely negative impact on public opinion and caused some people to lose confidence in the triumph of laws and justice.

One cannot yet say, of course, that all have drawn the appropriate conclusions and lessons from the criminal cases investigated. The situation requires greater efforts to eradicate violations of legality, especially in the area of the economy, and to continue the search for measures providing for a strengthening of legality and the restoration of the standards and principles of social justice in the republic.

The demands of the CPSU Central Committee on a significant strengthening of supervision and a continuous improvement of all the activities of the procurator's office have not only tremendous mobilizing potential. Taking into account what happened in Uzbekistan, these demands represent an urgent necessity, because until recently in many oblasts of the republic one could clearly see attempts to diminish the role of supervision by the procurator's office. There was interference in the investigation of specific criminal cases and "recommendations" were given on where to carry out checks and, where this could not be done, on who to bring to account for the violation of laws and who merely needs to be scolded.

People frequently sought to present the independent actions of individual procurators and their sharp reaction to the violation of laws as a departure from party control. All of this led to a situation where several workers of procurator's offices lost their high-mindedness and independence and became entirely dependent upon local moods and influences. The situation is now changing fundamentally. Nevertheless, the relapses of the past sometimes continue but there is not the previous admiration of persons holding responsible positions. Thus, A. Kh. Kazakov, procurator of Beruniyskiy Rayon of the Karakalpakska ASSR, refused to carry out the "recommendations" of first secretary of the party raykom Kurbaniyazov when the question arose of prosecuting the chairman of the rayon union of retail cooperatives for allowing inflated reporting on the plan fulfillment. The party obkom was informed about these "recommendations" and this fact was examined at the meeting of the bureau. Kurbaniyazov was relieved of his position for interfering in the resolution of the question of the responsibility of the chairman of the rayon union of cooperatives, given a severe reprimand and entered in the reporting card.

Relying on the favorable situation that is being established throughout our country, in every city and rayon, having drawn self-critical conclusions from omissions and miscalculations, being guided by the position of Article 168 of the USSR Constitution to the effect that the agencies of the procurator's office implement their powers regardless of any local authorities, and being subordinate only to the General Procurator of the USSR, the procurators began to reorganize their own work resolutely in accordance with the new demands. Locally there was a significant improvement of the interaction with the ispolkoms of the soviets of peoples' deputies controlling the agencies for the strengthening of discipline and legality.

The results of the checks by procurators carried out in the ministries and departments are examined by their expanded boards with the invitation of the procurators. It has become the practice to involve the managers of the ministries and departments of Uzbekistan in the work of the board of the procurator's office of the republic and coordinating conferences, where if necessary the explanations of particular ministries are heard and they are given official warnings about the inadmissibility of the violation of laws. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the republic's Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium are informed about his.

It must be said that the results of the checks by procurators on the shortcomings in the work of the ministries to strengthen state discipline and to prevent embezzlement were discussed at the meeting of the Council of Ministers and in the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. A number of leading workers were released from their official positions.

Under contemporary conditions, the necessity of strengthening socialist legality determines two directions in the work of the agencies of the procurator's office: in the first place, the strictest protection of the rights of citizens and the nonadmission of any violations of socialist legality, including by officials; secondly, the strictest observance of Soviet laws and rules of social order by all citizens. These two directions are interrelated. A system of legality firmly supported by state institutions and officials will effect the behavior of citizens in the most positive way.

The firm and consistent line pursued since the middle of 1984 by the procurator's office of Uzbekistan and supported by party, soviet and state authorities had a sobering effect on those who defrauded the state and established inflated authority for themselves, convinced honest working persons of the unavoidability of responsibility regardless of offices, posts and ranks, and contributed to the restoration of the prestige of conscientious labor.

Turning to the agencies of the procurator's office, citizens began to state freely their own comments, proposals and advice on how to improve work and uncover instances of embezzlement, inflated reporting and mismanagement. In many of these instances, the agencies of the procurator's office took immediate action.

The work that was done contributed to the improvement of the situation in the republic. It should be noted that serious types of crimes became significantly fewer. One observes a decline in the number of premeditated murders, rapes, acts of hooliganism, armed robberies and thefts.

At the same time, it is impossible not to note that the resolute and uncompromising campaign against plunderers and bribe takers, who for years had trampled the law and the principles of social justice with impunity, is encountering increasing resistance from those who had long protected them. Now, using the extension of glasnost and covering themselves through arguments about the development of criticism, they are spreading rumors and falsehoods about violations of legality in the work of the investigatory system of the agencies of internal affairs and the procurator's office. Through the lies and slander in their statements and anonymous letters—considerable forces, by the way, are diverted to check them out—they attempt above all to discredit those workers who have made the largest contribution to the fight against negative occurrences.

We are now striving to concentrate our efforts on the resolution of tasks of paramount importance. Thus, the level of the supervision by the procurator's office of the fulfillment of laws in the area of the economy is still inadequate. In the light of the decisions of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this aspect of our work is attaining even more importance. At the same

time, we are striving to have the local procurators make greater use of the additional powers that the USSR Supreme Soviet has granted the agencies of the procurator's office.

It is essential to strengthen the preventive nature of the great work that the agencies of the procurator's office are doing against negative phenomena. The still-significant incidence of such crimes as embezzlement, inflated reporting and bribery obliges us to do this.

The red tape in the review of criminal cases in the courts remains a great evil. Frequently being there for many years, they lose their urgency. Strict supervision by the procurator's office can change this situation.

The improvement of the work of the agencies of the procurator's office will help in the process of purification taking place in the republic.

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#### **Latvian Helsinki'86 Member Discredited in IZVESTIYA**

18000106a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 6

[Article by TASS Commentator Viktor Ponomarev: "What the 'Voice' Did Not Say"]

[Text] One never gets bored with the "Voice of America." The other day it triumphantly reported to the entire world that finally, after a long struggle for emigration, Kheynis Lama, that Latvian "defender of human rights," arrived in Vienna. By the solemn tones of the announcer one was able to grasp that it was a grandiose event.

Kheynis Lama himself stated to the journalists that he intends to make West Germany happy and has settled namely there. Now, one may surmise that yet another passionate "fighter" for the rights of man and for religious freedom in the Soviet Union will appear in the FRG.

In strained tones, the "Voice" reported to its awe-struck listeners that Lama was arrested as early as 1945 for taking part in the activities of a young people's group of believing Christians.

In a period of complete glasnost, such scanty "telegraphic" information on the appearance in the West of such a major political figure did not, quite frankly, satisfy me. And therefore I decided to add to its details from the biography on which the "Voice of America" is silent.

Let us start with the fact that Lama was arrested for the first time not in 1945, but much earlier. As is seen from the records of criminal activities of that postwar time, he worked under Soviet rule in Latvia from July 1940

through 15 February 1941 as a representative of the 5th Department of the Riga City Police. On 20 July of that same year he was arrested by the SS and was then and there released. You ask. Why?

Lama writes in his own hand, "Because I gave a voluntary, signed statement to a German SS officer, Obersturmbannfuhrer Maurits, that I would secretly report to the German authorities and expose the communists, Jews, Soviet activists, partisans, and other persons of a hostile disposition toward the Germans."

Todays "defender of human rights" assiduously carried out his promise. At the end of December 1944 he joined the Fascist detachment called "Jagd-Ferband-SS-Ostland" and finished his period of service as the commander of a group conducting punitive operations against peaceful Soviet citizens. The members of the punitive detachment did not succeed in going underground to wage a terrorist struggle with Soviet Power after the liberation of Latvia, inasmuch as they were overtaken by retribution.

And that is why he was arrested immediately after the war, and certainly not for believing in God.

Here is the kind of "hero" that was greeted so ceremoniously not long ago in Vienna.

But obviously, it is true what they say, that you can find grain even in a dung heap, if you look hard enough. That turns out to be the admission of the "Voice" of the fact that it was namely Lama and his spiritual comrades-in-arms from the Helsinki-86 group, who organized a nationalist demonstration this year in Riga. Is a Gestapo agent, a leader of a punitive expedition, and an anti-Semite the leader of today's "defenders of human rights"?

09006

#### **SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Declares Riga Demonstration a Failure**

18000106b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Special Correspondents in Riga E. Govorushko and A. Kamenev: "A Call That Went Nowhere"]

[Text] Wednesday, 18 November... This date had only just arrived and from the banks of the Potomac to the banks of the Daugava a mournful sound was heard. What was it about?

By the end of October Congressmen Hertell and Ritter and Senator Dole, who incidentally has announced his candidacy for President of the USA, submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the US Congress a draft resolution in which they call upon the President "To take

decisive measures in connection with the 18th of November, the anniversary of the proclamation of bourgeois Latvia," and literally demand permitting the citizens of a Soviet republic to publicly mark the next anniversary, and that the representatives of the Western press visit Riga and observe these events. The authors of Resolution No 209 impute to the President of the USA the responsibility to instruct his establishments to follow these events and to send his representative to Latvia for this purpose.

The socialist history of the Latvian people is inseparably linked with the victory of the Great October Revolution and with the establishment of Soviet rule, first on the unoccupied part of Latvia in November and December of 1917, and then over the entire territory of the republic by the beginning of 1919. It was namely then that the Latvian people, for the first time in almost eight centuries, received their independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. And it was namely then that certain politicians turned their attention from the banks of the Thames, the Seine and the Potomac to the banks of the Daugava. Lt Col Warwick Green, sent to Latvia by US President Wilson, sent the distressing but eloquent message, that "A significant part of the country, including Riga, is in the hands of the Bolsheviks." And he subsequently provides a disparaging description of Ulmanis and his government, established upon the departure of the German occupation in November 1918: "The current de-facto government of Latvia is extremely weak, and does not represent the Latvian people. It would have been immediately overturned, if popular elections had been held. It is an arbitrary government."

Petr Stuchka, head of the first Soviet government of Soviet Latvia called bourgeois Latvia an absurd slave state. "It would have never occurred to us to recognize it," he wrote. "Not for one minute did the struggle of the working class of Latvia against the nationalist republic and for Soviet rule cease. And in this struggle we shall seek a way to become reunited with the land of world revolution—Soviet Russia." These words were uttered in 1940, when Soviet rule had finally been established in Latvia, and the socialist revolution had won. At that time 1,181,323 voters of at least 21 years of age took part in the election—which comprised almost 95 percent of its adult population—and the candidates of the working people's bloc received almost 98 percent of the votes. Such is the truth of history. And although 47 years have passed since that time, the USA refuses to give de facto recognition to Soviet Latvia, and to this day continues "to consider the diplomatic representatives of the last independent government of the Latvian Republic to be the rightful representatives."

The statement of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, adopted at a recent session of the republic's highest organ of Soviet power, has already been reported in the press. We will reiterate only one clause from this document: "We the deputies of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, elected by the Latvian people and expressing

their will, strongly protest resolutions of this kind. We declare that this represents gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, a serious violation of the rules of the UN and the Concluding Document at Helsinki, and is in conflict with the generally-accepted norms of international law. Such resolutions bear witness to the stubborn refusal of certain people in the USA to reckon with well-known historic realities."

However, it is more likely that this "refusal" is not one of "certain people," but is the official position. "The US Government does not recognize Soviet Latvia; therefore we cannot accept your resolution," declared Second Secretary of the US Embassy in Moscow Thomas Graham, when a group of deputies from the Latvian Supreme Soviet made an attempt to send the text of their statement to the US Congress via the embassy. The refusal to accept the delegation from Latvia was seen as an act of disrespect toward the Latvian people, of whom the celebrators across the ocean are supposedly so concerned. "We demand respect, and we will worry about our fate ourselves"—This thought was voiced in literally all protest meetings which took place at that time in almost all collectives in the republic.

"One would like to believe," it says in that statement, "that the US Congress will gain common sense and new political thinking, which will lead to the rejection of the sadly well-known resolutions on the "Baltic Question"..."

But it has not yet learned common sense. Right after Resolution 209, the Western radio stations broadcast their provocative summons to the citizens of Riga and all Latvians to "mark" the 18th of November with demonstrations. They even described the scenario, gave information on the routes for the column movements, and noted the meeting places. The reports from the Western agencies and radio stations frequently mention the so-called Helsinki-86 group, of which *Sovetskaya Kultura* has already written (30 June 1987), and asserts specifically that the participants in this allegedly actively functioning group is being subjected to persecution. However, one of its organizers has already departed for the FRG, and has now crossed over to the USA. And a second, Linards Grantinsh is actually serving out his punishment: In June of this year he received a six-month sentence from the Liepaya People's Court for evading military service. The group has fallen apart. But in the West they are unable to reconcile themselves to this; they very much want to give the impression that there somehow exists an organized opposition. It is upon them that their services of provocation have set their hopes. And here...

It was literally on the eve of 18 November that Linards Grantinsh appealed to Latvian television with a request to give him the opportunity to make a statement on the actions which had already taken place and which were planned. He was given that opportunity. On the very popular TV program "Panorama" he declared: "No one forced me to appear here as if I were thus to buy my

freedom and permission to travel abroad. That is not so. This is by my own desire. I find the events which took place unpleasant, and I do not support them if only because they were provoked. I call upon my countrymen not to take part in any demonstrations whatsoever; nothing good will come of them. The accumulated misunderstandings and conflicts must be eliminated not by force, but by cooperation."

At a meeting just held with students, Latvian CP Central Committee First Secretary B. Pugo read several telegrams addressed to the Riga Gorispolkom and to the government of the republic: "If they cannot guarantee order these days in the capital city and other cities in the republic, our leaders are not worth a cent." Thousands of the citizens of Riga expressed their desire to go out onto the streets of the city on duty to ensure order and to prevent the provocateurs from carrying out their acts.

The situation in Riga turned out to be unusual. Here and there crowds of the curious gathered. And on Latvian Red Rifleman Square, at the memorial for the knights of the revolution, nearly 10,000 citizens of Riga gathered for a meeting. But the foreign correspondents who traveled to Riga were disappointed: taking part in the meeting were Gunar Krollis, People's Artist of the LaSSR; Leonid Petrov, a worker at the Sarkanays Kvadras Industrial Association; Peters Grishko, a former Red Rifleman; Ivan Knets, doctor of technical sciences; Valdis Skuinsh, a sailor; and Egils Romanovskis, a student; and they all said the same thing: Don't try to meddle in our affairs, Mr. Congressman; we will not permit you to start quarrels or to drive a wedge into the relations between the peoples of our country.

One can also add to this the opinion of People's Artist of the Republic Girt Yakovlev, who is popular not only in Latvia but throughout the country: "It may seem to some that we have devoted too much attention to the gentlemen from the US Congress in recent days. But I think that we must just this once give them to understand, that they are not dealing with their own affairs, and that it is not proper for them to try to impose their own rules on a foreign country. After all, Latvia is not a "banana republic" like they are used to dealing with. Is this really not clear to them yet?"

In my opinion it is certainly clear to them, but they are dead set on it, and it is hard for them to come to grips with the fact that the meetings taking place in the republic were not organized according to the scenario of the American congressmen. It is as if, however, they had misgivings. Senator Riegel made his usual speech in which, citing information allegedly received from Latvia he reported that, they say, Latvian workers were warned of liability for taking part in the processions and demonstrations; that the school children were bussed out of the city; that students were threatened with expulsion from the VUZ's, and so on. All that is a lie. It was an

ordinary workday; the elementary schools were operating normally; and after their lectures, most of the college students rushed off to the activities connected with the Student Days now underway in the republic.

At the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs we were told that there were no nationalistic, anti-Soviet speeches in the republic whatsoever. At the same time the residents of several houses in Riga discovered pamphlets of a nationalistic nature in their mailboxes. The city Internal Affairs Department was informed by telephone that an explosion was allegedly to take place at the Monument of Freedom. This, it goes without saying, was not confirmed.

Thus, the wide-scale provocative actions, the scenario for which was worked out by the special services across the seas, were a total failure.

09006

#### SELSKAYA ZHIZN Gives Local Reactions to Riga Demonstration

18000106c Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
6 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by A. Morgan and A. Tinkov, special correspondents to SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Latvian SSR: "Our Fathers' Legacy": "A Tale of Why the Nationalistic Actions in Latvia Dreamed Up Abroad Failed"]

[Text] What were they counting on—these American congressmen who adopted a resolution on the so-called Latvian Independence Day? Was there really a glimmer of hope in the fevered brains of some that on a designated day crowds of people would fill the streets of Riga to greet a revolution from across the ocean?...

Mass demonstrations did indeed take place. But to the chagrin of the Western press correspondents who had come to Latvia in such a friendly manner, they were met by disappointment. The demonstrations of the citizens of the Latvian capital were not of "that" character, but the direct opposite: the people protesting were expressing their indignation over the provocative actions of the Congress, which unfairly shuffled the facts: or if you want to call a spade a spade, in essence it was inciting the populace of the republic to anti-Soviet demonstrations. One could, no doubt, sympathize with our Western journalist-colleagues, who spent their time to no good purpose. Incidentally, some of them nevertheless made an attempt to somehow compensate for their lost time, and made up their typical conjectured and fantastic stories. It was good that the model for disinformation was, one could say, right before their eyes—that same resolution from the American Congress; for, on the one hand they spoke the truth, about the necessity to purge history of various perversions and distortions; but on the other they assiduously and persistently held their tongues on everything connected with the revolutionary

events in Latvia, beginning with the years 1917-1918, and then in 1940—that is, with the true history and the present days of the republic.

After all it could only be from a very strong desire that one could, for example, omit from the pages of history the stories connected with that constellation of legendary Latvian Red Riflemen, the regiments of which more than 70 years ago not only went over to the side of the Bolsheviks, but also became one of the first units of the Red Army. They are the ones who covered themselves with glory in battles with the counter-revolutionaries, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They were the strong support of the young government in putting down the leftist SR mutiny. They were the ones from whose ranks came the first Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Republic, Ioakim Vatsetis; the military leader Yan Fabritsius; and other heroes of the Civil War.

And how can one remain silent about such a commonly-known fact, that Soviet rule was established in the unoccupied part of Latvia as early as November 1917, and that in December the first Soviet government of the republic was elected at the Congress of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Landless Deputies!

Incidentally, we leave to the conscience of the authors of the resolution the serious gaps in their knowledge of history. But permit us also to have doubts about the very fact of being so uninformed. Here the question is a different one: that of attempts by Western propaganda to foist on us "their own" version of historical events. To speak of these attempts seriously would perhaps be pointless, were it not for the fact that their ideological direction is quite clear. The fact of the matter is that for many years—those very years which it is now acceptable to call the period of stagnation—in speaking of internationalism, we often found ourselves trapped by the stereotypes which had evolved. As if by inertia the sights of our international propaganda were fastened on those who were already confirmed internationalists. We were engaged in a thankless and not very effective cause: we were diligently trying to convince those who were already convinced, thereby avoiding the sharp corners in the hopes that all the others would take us at our word as well.

We were taking life easy, but our ideological enemy, in leisurely fashion, quietly went over to the counteroffensive. They placed their hopes on those who had long been at odds with Soviet rule and with our laws, and also on the ill-informed state of our young people. To be more precise, on that portion of our young people who were not overly burdened with knowledge or with socially-useful labor.

Among those "suckered" by the Western Voices one can name, for example, Edmund Tsirvilis. It is not hard to determine his convictions from his service record: during the war years it was not out of fear, but from his class predilections that he cooperated with the Fascists; in

1944 he went through paratroop training and was dropped into the USSR. And it was not by his good will that the activities of the newly-minted saboteur were brought to an untimely end.

Twenty-eight-year-old Yanis Barkans belongs to another generation: he is one of those borne on the shield of the Western "Voices," and is a member of the extremely small group called "Helsinki-86," which incidentally has now practically disintegrated. His "assets" already include three convictions. It would not, of course, be proper to exaggerate the capabilities and the influence of such people on those around them, nor should one forget about the fact that it is namely these forces, and this group that stood at the head of the events which took place on 23 August at the Monument of Freedom in Riga.

We shall return to these events. But for now we should like to take note of something that is extremely significant: the ideas spread by the Western radio voices have found no response whatsoever in the Latvian countryside. This fact is eloquent in and of itself. And to explain that in terms of a certain apolitical nature on the part of those who live in the villages and rayon centers would be naive and simply untrue. On the contrary, on many of the farms in the republic which we managed to visit, we heard numerous accurate judgments and analyses of what had taken place.

A conversation with Brigita Rozental, production engineer at the farm's sewing shop on Nakotne Kolkhoz in Yelgavskiy Rayon, comes to mind. Brigita's story fate is remarkable in and of itself. A girl from Glubenskiy Rayon, from glubinki [from the sticks] as they say, 15 years ago she decided to become a specialist in the sewing business. Alas, in those days, there was no training in this profession in republic VUZ's. Brigita was forced to pack her bags and set out for the Ukraine, to the Kiev Light Industry Institute. Those years were filled with many things: with acquiring new friends; with the unsurpassed charm of ancient Kiev; and with the fact that by the end of her training she was able to freely express herself not only in Russian, but in the Ukrainian language as well.

"We are remiss in the restructuring of our propaganda," reasons Brigita Rozental. "It was only on the eve of 23 August that articles appeared on the pages of republic newspapers calling upon us to resist a far better-grounded campaign waged by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. And so it turned out that those who, following the summons from across the ocean, came to the Monument of Freedom to honor the memory of their relatives who had suffered during the years of the cult of personality, were painted with the same brush as the group of extremists which had other, nationalistic, slogans. Why did all this take place at the Monument of Freedom? I'll tell you frankly: until recent times it has somehow been associated in the republic with the bourgeois period in its history. They were silent about it, and

this gave rise to rumors and all sorts of fantasies about that period. And I myself, to be honest, until recently did not know the true state of affairs."

At the gorkom this admission accurately reflected the situation which had come to pass. By irony of fate, this monument, which commemorates the struggle of the Latvian people with the czarist autocracy and the warlike German barons, was regarded suspiciously in official circles only because it was erected in 1935, on the eve of the celebration of the regular anniversary of bourgeois Latvia. And it was not taken into account, that the monument in Riga was erected, incidentally, at the expense of the workers. Should one be surprised that this monument, which was apparently "ownerless," was momentarily "added to the accounts" and was gladly placed into the orbit of the their own ideological interests by Western propaganda and the bourgeois nationalists who had found a soft spot across the ocean?

Our time is a time of shattering stereotypes. This also pertains to attitudes toward history, and to questions of international upbringing. Among all those narrow-minded people (What is there to hide, there is such a stratum in our society!) whom the Western radio voices were lucky enough to take in, an impression had taken root of a kind of brilliant expression of nationalism in the Baltic republics. Alas, for a long time we did not properly rebuff these feelings, and were carried away with descriptions of purely the business and economic achievements and transformations in this region of the country.

But does the matter lie only with them? Concerning Nakotne, for example, the first kolkhoz in the republic, whose date of birth is 21 November 1946, there is something to say in any respect. The annual profit here is more than 9,000,000 rubles. Splendidly-developed basic industry is combined with initiatives in other spheres, and with stability in strengthening the economy: on the kolkhoz there is a shop which produces the rare agar-agar; production of fats and extracts has been organized; and there is a livestock farm and a sewing shop. On that autumn evening in 1946, when the constituent assembly of the kolkhoz was held, Artur Chiskste, a young lad, stood guard at the house (Bands of nationalists were still skulking about). An hour later his mother, Alvina, was elected to the board of Nakotne. And now, years have passed, and Artur Chikste, a Hero of Socialist Labor, himself stands at the head of the kolkhoz. And that is the kind of continuity and the rich legacy they have here.

And yet Nakotne is a kind of miniature Internationale. The majority, understandably, is made of Latvians; but there are also quite a few Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, and Belorussians here; There are Lithuanians, Germans, Armenians, Finns, Chuvash, Komis from Perm, and even one Yakut... The fate and the common interests of the children of various nations are closely intertwined here—and not only here.

Engineer-mechanic Vasiliy Fedotov, a man with a not altogether ordinary story, lives on the Lachplesis Kolkhoz in Ogrskiy Rayon. He is from Pskov Oblast, and was born into a large family. Right after the war... But it would be better to give the floor to Vasiliy Fedotov himself:

"It turned out that right after the war, Mother found herself alone; Father died in battle with the Fascists. And soon she passed away herself. I found myself in neighboring Latvia. First I tended cattle for a fisherman, and then when Lachplesis was formed, the general meeting decided to adopt me as a son of the kolkhoz. And so I grew up under the guardianship of its chairman, Edgar Kaulish, now deceased. They supported me until I finished semiletka [elementary school]; then they sent me to study at a technical college, and after the Army, to the agricultural academy. I am obligated to all of these people, who today are my fellow villagers."

And that is how Vasiliy Fedotov, the son of a kolkhoz, became one of their own at Lachplesis. He speaks about himself in the characteristic Pskov accent, but he has also completely mastered the Latvian language in those years. Ausma, his wife, is from the local populace; their four daughters are growing up, and the eldest, Liyene, is studying at the university.

And once again, a short excursion into history. During the years of bourgeois rule, the local peasants as a rule were unable to feed themselves from the land and were forced to set out for more prosperous lands to supplement their income. We had a talk with Komsomolets Kolkhoz veteran Anton Pipars. Before the war he had 14 hectares of land, a rickety house, and a large family. But they were unable to climb out of poverty. And that is why Pipars, as did thousands of other Latvian peasants, welcome with their whole hearts the decision of the Popular Sejm of the republic—in free elections in July 1940, in which almost 95 percent of the voters participated—on the restoration of Soviet rule and the entry of Latvia in to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Then, for his native Soviet Union, Anton Pipars, a peasant from Latgalija, shed his blood at the front in the Great Patriotic War and was twice wounded. And that is why the perplexity of this 78-year-old peasant is so understandable: What kind of people are these, anyway, demonstrating at the Monument of Freedom on 23 August; and who gave them the right to speak in the name of the "true Latvians"? No one gave them the right to do so, unless you consider the small handful of the people who think like them. They are playing the fool, and not only that!

Concerning A. Silaroze, one of the main actors in that same group, Helsinki-86, Pipars was right on the mark:

Choir member at the opera theater and the ballet, was not the only role A. Silaroze played in his stormy and not-too-decent life! In the 1950's, together with those sent to develop the virgin lands, Silaroze accepted his

farewell and his memorial presents, but when he encountered the very first difficulties, he fled. Then in 1979, when the republic youth newspaper published an invitation for the first settlers to joint the Latvian Komsomol, he did not disdain to place his signature among the first. He was convicted of enticing minors to drunkenness and to an amoral way of life. But now you see, he has cast himself in the role of a defender of the rights of the "true Latvians"... Of course, they consider themselves to be the true Latvians.

But we are reminded of a brief letter from A. Slishan, agronomist on the Tsinya Kolkhoz in Valvskiy Rayon, published in the republic newspaper *Tsinya*. Here are some lines from it: "I cannot exist without the Motherland. Spell it with a large letter or with a small one, I always feel my Motherland in the left side of my breast where my heart beats... The Motherland for me is like a large commonwealth, which has united the nations for all time... For me the Motherland is—pride in knowing the Russian language; in understanding the Russian character, which I learned as a child from my neighbor Aleksey who was often a guest at my father's place.

O Motherland, my Mother and Father implanted you in me through their labor and their simple language—just as a tulip bulb is planted in the soil. And so I live, with the Motherland in myself, and myself in it."

These are the thoughts of the majority of the inhabitants of the republic. They do not give themselves fine-sounding names; they see their duty to their Motherland primarily in honest labor. But—when someone permits himself to doubt their allegiance to the revolutionary ideals, to the principles of internationalism, and their genuine love for their own nation—that is where they show that they are able to stand up for their own rights, independently. And that is what happened on Latvian Independence Day, which was proclaimed by the American Congress. On that day, incidentally, neither in the republic capital nor in the rayon centers was there a single anti-Soviet, nationalistic demonstration.

And so, who indeed should be considered true Latvians, and the authentic masters of their own republic? On that day, the gentlemen from across the ocean received, in our view, a sufficiently eloquent answer.

09006

### **Belorussian Daily Discusses 'Informal' Youth Group**

*18300052 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 1, 2 Oct 87*

[Articles by Anatoliy Maysenya: "Who are They, these 'Informals'?" ]

**[1 Oct 87, p 4]**

[Text] At a Soviet-Bulgarian scientific-practical conference of philosophers and sociologists recently held in Minsk, one of the scholars cited the figure that approximately 70 percent of the young people in our country

belong to so-called "informal" youth associations. The figure itself is enough to cause serious agitation. For that matter the figure is subject to doubt, and one could take issue with it; not everything is that simple with estimates. But one cannot take issue with the problem. It exists.

What is the cause of this far from favorable situation which has evolved? As it turns out, an enormous mass of young people in the age group 14 to 25 have joined informal associations which sprang up by themselves, upon initiative "from below," bypassing the wishes "from above." Why have the young people begun to reject the "formal" associations To the extent that such opposition is appropriate and justified, are these very diverse designations not fraught with confusion? And finally, by what means should one search for a solution to the problem?

It would be immodest at the least to pretend to have exhaustive answers in all the directions. Nevertheless, the author reserves the right to reach his own conclusions.

All the questions raised above are legitimate. It is a question of the urgent need to restructure social consciousness, changing the way of administrative thinking, and establishing a new system of value coordinates. To a certain extent I consider the informal youth associations as a corollary.

But before discussing this topic, let us consider the following. The designation, "informal youth associations" suffers from one principle shortcoming—it is without foundation. Falling under this designation are such multihued and variegated formations that one can only get lost in trying to guess what it is that unites them. That is why I consider the designation the product of lazy bureaucratic thinking, which is completely occupied with maintaining its formal, outward appearances; it is in conflict with the multidimensional essence of a complex social phenomenon. The designation "informal" most closely applies to the concept of "not registered with the official organs," or one that "sprang up on a wave of youthful initiative, from below." No kind of "stock-taking" of young people's associations, of course, can take them in comprehensively, as they currently exist. And that is why it is necessary to establish a validated scale of values for the purpose of analyzing the activities of specific youth associations. Is it possible to set up such a scale of values in principle? I think it is. There is such a common denominator—the social direction, the ideological-educational potential, the direct association with the tasks of the present moment; in other words—the relationship to perestroika. And incidentally, the spectrum of formations is exceptionally broad. Among them there are some that—let's be honest—it would be better if they did not exist. This means that we are faced here with a great deal of painstaking and delicate work on changing the minds of those who are "confused," or in the worst case, those which require

the application of severe administrative measures and sanctions, as an extreme measure—it goes without saying—after all other levers of influence have been used without effect. But one must not exclude such extreme measures.

No doubt many people happened to read the press accounts on the decree of the ispolkom of the Moscow City Soviet concerning the so-called "rockers," groups of young men on motorcycles which subjected Muscovites to genuine terror at night with the deafening roar of their motorcycles, and with their demonical races through the sleeping city. And so a resolution was adopted which forbids such learned assemblages. Did the "rockers" not do harm to the interests of the young people's associations? Unquestionably! But no one in our society has been granted the right to disturb the peace and deprive the citizens of their rest for the sake of entertainment. Consequently, the association of "rockers" is antisocial by its nature; it exists at the expense of society, and it encroaches on the inalienable rights of our citizens. There can be no compromise here, and it is useless to appeal to democracy.

I've heard from young people, and not only from them, that one criterion for a democratic and civilized society is its willingness to show patience and respect for the rights of a minority to its own views, interests, and enthusiasms—as opposed to those practiced and preached by the majority of the citizens. It is true that socialism creates the prerequisites for the harmonious development of a person, forms the richest palette of interests and aspirations, expands the framework of the very conception of "person," revolutionizes his internal world, and rejects neutralized schemes and values which apply the same standards to all people. In recent times a great deal has been said of this in scientific and party literature.

But here another question arises. Is democracy a derivative of the tolerance of society for every new form such as this? One would think that those are incorrect who, from a degree of great tolerance of society and its control authorities toward any minority, irrespective of its nature and social direction, give up a certain amount of their civilization and humanity. Society must possess to the fullest the genuinely democratic right to defend itself from the encroachments of an injudicious minority, and to protect its citizens from it. It is not long-suffering patience and all-embracing tolerance with respect to groups according to their interests that serves as an equivalent of democracy and openness in society, but the capability in a timely manner to fully investigate their character, and separate the wheat from the chaff—making the further existence of the group dependent upon the overall interests of society; subordinating them to a definite degree to the special, autonomous development of the spiritual needs and requirements for the development of society as a whole. And, if someone does not wish to live within the bounds of recognized necessity, then one must consider that bringing to bear means

of influence on these people, right down to the use of force, is both a continuation of the ideals of democracy, and its realization in practice.

Thus, in evaluating the activities of the young people's associations in terms of their interests, we must be governed by two immutable requirements—first, to use to the maximum a specific, individual approach; and second, to compare them with the scale of social values, and submit them to the test of their degree of social significance. It would seem that everything is perfectly clear. But the fact that these requirements are quite often ignored does not have to be proven. In practice, alas, it is more complicated. If, for the realization of the first condition it is sufficient to work out clear-cut instructions, and go from groundless arguments about "informal youth associations" in general, to painstaking assembly and analysis of information on each group in terms of its interests in particular, the second condition turns out to be a problem. For it is in the very process of evaluating the social significance of a specific youth organization, in determining its social nature and direction, that one time and again has to deal with raging subjectivism and arbitrariness. It is precisely at this stage that many fine undertakings are laid to rest, that the wings of youthful enterprise are cut off, and independence is hobbled.

I met with the participants of the "Krug" creative studio of Minsk during one of their regular evening rehearsals which (as with many before it, I managed to learn later) took place with the observance of the elements of a conspiracy. The studio was rehearsing in the hall of an institution at which it was not registered, and consequently had no right to rehearse within its walls—hence the necessity for secrecy. But, strange as that may seem, I noted inwardly that this inconvenience had no effect on the overall mood of the drama students whatsoever. Their mood, as a matter of fact, was creative and charged up for work. Later on I understood that the kids had simply gotten used to the status of "poor relations," who were always casting about for a warm corner. Therefore, they were happy with what they had. And therefore the opportunity to work once a week on a real stage, with real theatrical lighting became more and more dear to them. And after all, they, as I became convinced, had the right to count on something more. During the last season the Krug Studio performed Blok's *Balaganchik* before an audience. An audience of nearly 1,500 saw the performance. And this was with scanty advertising—or a better way to put it is—in its absence. To this add positive reaction in the republic young people's press. Having become acquainted with the drama students at the Krug Studio, I was amazed that this is not simply a drama circle, but an association of like-minded persons, passionately in love with an devoted to the theater—but who are seeking in art their own special, untrodden path to solicit special inspiration from their muse. They are inclined, aside from all else, to wax poetic, filled to capacity with metaphors, intricate imagery, shades and nuances of language—language which makes one think, and comprehend.

In their theatrical activities they willingly weave in elements of lively eurhythmics and choreography. With minor exceptions, everyone in the studio is a professional: people who play in professional theaters or who are preparing themselves for a career as an actor. And they come here to unburden their souls—this is their theater. Coming up is a serious performance—*Cain*, by Byron. If it is foreordained that everything that they have intended comes to pass, the new performance will commemorate yet another stage of mastery of theatrical excellence and professional maturity of the studio. One can only regret that few people are concerned with the business of the studio; that their energy, inspiration and enthusiasm, which—with a proper relationship with the Komsomol and the organs of culture could have been serving the cause of the aesthetic education of the young people—is largely spent in the search for their means of existence.

And here is where the unsuitable practice of “egalitarianism” betrays itself, where the same standards are applied to different youth associations; where there is procrastination and non-recognition; when those who are able to give to society are placed on the same docket with those capable only of making demands on it. The same fate is in store for them, which lies in the mistaken designation of “informal youth associations.” Who stands to gain from such ineptitude? More on this in the next installment.

[2 Oct 87, p 3; conclusion of two-part article]

[Text] Most of the young people's associations of today sprang up in response to new trends in music. The main problem in working with the mass of similar groups formed around metallic rock, “new wave,” “rap music,” and so on, lies in uniting the interests of the young people in a certain form of musical art, filled to the brim with high ideological and moral substance, which teaches the young lads a sufficient level of aesthetic culture and taste, and which is capable of critical and thoughtful perception of musical material. And this work must begin, naturally, with the effective training of cadres of propagandists, lecturers, and cult expositors. The severe cadre problem can be partially solved even today; one must merely select the most mature and erudite lads from among the very youth groups who are attracted to music, and get them involved in the work. Such informal leaders exist: I know many, and have seen them in their circle of friends; and I have heard interesting discussions on music and on the times. Acting in their favor is their passion and their solid authority among the people of their own age—which is at times lacking among our staff lecturers and propagandists. One can find an approach to a juvenile devoted to “rock music” only on the wavelength of his interests; only by means of a well-argued, convincing explanation to him of that which truly attracts him. There's no need to act against one's conscience: one or two properly-interpreted episodes from the life of a “rock star” or a well-done translation of the text of a song from the “top ten”—the first ten on the

“hit parade”—has much more influence on a passionate rock fan, than lengthy dissertations on the need for aesthetic self-education, or on the incomparably greater spiritual potential of classical music, and so on, which drives the young people to boredom. And even if such a celebrator of the classics is thrice correct, his moral teachings will not reach the ears of the “rockers” or the “new-wavers.” And it is not a question of ruling out the propagation of the highest and most exalting examples of musical art. But one should rule out the use of unsuitable means of introducing musical aesthetics to the young people's consciousness, which do not take into consideration the psychology of that age group.

Severely limited knowledge on social and age-group psychology quite often is the reason for the one-sided, libertarian judgments on the affairs and undertakings of young people. It would appear that the obvious truth is forgotten—of the enterprise of young people and their enthusiasm, which produces the desire to comprehend the world around them, and their thirst for self-assertion and seeking out their place in this world. This means, that we must give broader scope to the young people's independent quest. This is an axiom which is not always considered in practical work. Often ignored is the experimental, investigative character of youthful undertakings; the quest for truth and convictions which coincide with the ready truths and convictions. Young people are quite often deprived of the right to independently think over their own behavior, and to independently renounce their own delusions and errors. And thus it comes about that definitive judgments are cooked up about our “extremist” or “opposition-minded” or “apolitical” youth.

Of late it has become blatantly fashionable to run down the Pamyat group. Those youth associations whose interests lie on the plane of national history and culture are especially subjected to criticism. At the slightest provocation analogies are sought out all at once, far-fetched arguments of similarity are adduced, and without critical examination, accusations of guilt-by-association of extremism and national chauvinism and so forth are brought forth.

“Pamyat” has become a symbol of a kind of ideological harm. I would say that those who tirelessly strive to find empty parallels and comparisons would not be hindered if they restrained their ardor, or tended the fires of their spirit a bit. And so as not to commit folly, first of all—investigate “Pamyat, where everything is far from simple; and secondly, reject the very practice of handing out edicts without examination—especially in those instances when the matter concerns undertakings which are in essence patriotic and highly civic-minded. One of the members of the Uzgorye Club of Vitebsk, which made its main goal the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments, described to me a certain responsible official at the city level, who, when he heard of the club's proposal, delivered himself of a lengthy tirade, at the end of which he tacked on, “We will not allow a ‘Solidarnost’ in Vitebsk.” I can just see his face, shining

with righteous indignation. But, as they say, for every outrage there should be some decency. Even if this comrade has an insuperable weakness for artful exaggeration, his hyperbole will not gain him anything. For one cannot call this anything but extreme irresponsibility and extremism of political views.

The Uzgorye Club is not the only one of its kind. There are such young people's organizations in other cities in the republic as well: "Pakhodnya" in Grodno, "Povyaz" in Orsha, "Talaka" in Gomel and a club of the same name in Minsk, and "Maladzik" in Polotsk. And the problems with them are largely the same.

And here I cannot but speak of that which is truly disturbing. Today as never before the need is felt for broad, scholarly discussion, with maximum access to the interested public, of the problems of the history of the Belorussian people, their culture and their language. Foot-dragging in making principled decisions on accumulated problems, the painful nature of which have caused reactions in the consciousness of patriotically-minded young people, can only intensify the national-chauvinist positions of the narrow circle of "activists," who under the banner of development of democracy and resurrection of historic truths, are successfully sowing ideas which have nothing whatever in common with democracy; who under a false pretense of "complete and indivisible truth," are wielding their wretched "truth," which sows dissension and mistrust. Inactivity and the lack of glasnost on these questions results in the fact that certain harmful ideas and extremist views are making their way into the young people's milieu, and the "people's orators" who are making use of them are artfully winning over favorable listeners among the young people.

This is not going on unnoticed. And hour after hour at official conferences and plenums one can hear distinct denunciations. But who is the guilty party in all this, permit me to ask: The young people with their inborn sense of striving for the new? Or the ideological authorities and services themselves, which were unable to protect the young people from the onslaughts of the demagogues and those who are ignorant of science, and satisfy their legitimate desires to learn the historic truth about their own people, and about the tragedies and deprivation they have lived through?

I am convinced that these "bad" youths are hardly as elitist and sectarian as they are depicted. Their reasoning is not hermetically sealed; it is open to arguments; it is receptive to criticism with proofs; and it is quick to grasp a lack of prejudice, and good intentions. In working with this category of young people, there is no substitute for open dialog, exchange of opinions, or discussions. Sure, this is much more exacting than simply commanding and issuing directives and instructions; shunning these people, being "cautious" with them, and "holding your sights" on them. One can do away with subjectivism, regardless of what its guiding motives are, only when the

problems are subjected to analysis and decisions are made in the widest possible circle of competent people, reaching decisions by comparing a variety of views and opinions.

Having made some critical remarks, I would like to describe some positive experiences as well in work with youth associations noted for their nonstandard nature and fresh thinking, and their innovative, constructive approaches to problems. We shall concentrate on my own choice, a musical-information center called "Orientir," which was established in the city of Minsk at the beginning of this year. The setting up of the center, and the path they traveled from an idea to reality is another affirmation of that truth, that the enthusiasm which possesses the useful undertakings of people, multiplied by sober calculation and realism, will always blaze itself a trail, and will always find adherents and well-wishers. The story about the Orientir Center, about its mission and special tasks for raising the level of young people's musical culture in the republic is a special one: quite a bit of problematic material had accumulated. But right now it is for me more important to note something else—initiative "from below," well-argued and supported by calculations, found a positive response at the directive organs, and found support from the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, which as a result became an active partner in its implementation. And the bureaucratic impediments to such initiative did not turn out to be so terrible, although they had to cope with all sorts.

But you see it is namely this realism that is lacking in many youthful endeavors, most of which die out at the idea stage. But after all it is not enough to put forth an idea; it must have proper foundation as well. You won't get far on naked enthusiasm. The example with "Orientir" can serve for the edification of those who have a penchant for harebrained schemes, idle talk and empty ambitions, but who do not wish to go to the trouble of getting their hands dirty in the painstaking work of bringing their projects into line with reality; those who do not want to understand that every cause starts with small things, that every initiative must be accompanied with a weighty analysis of the existing situation and possibilities. And then, you see, the young people's sin today is their impatience: Give us everything in its final form, backed up by resolutions and the seals of higher authorities. The indulgence in harebrained schemes and the organizational bankruptcy of certain Komsomol officials are the reasons for the fact that the energy and initiative expended by dozens of people goes for naught, who at first display energy in abundance in their projects, but then are driven under a cold shower by various squabbles and disappointments. And here there is no one to blame but the callousness of the official organs. Here it would be better for them to turn around and look at themselves, and beef up their own realism and management efficiency.

Partly these wishes can be addressed to the organizers of the republic youth center, which was established on a voluntary basis at the Railroaders' imeni Illich Palace of

Culture and Sport. Not living a full-blooded life, it exists and survives, as a matter of fact, by means of intermittent breathing. The center, which has become the launching pad for many a good and useful undertaking in the republic, gradually lost its dynamism and died out. And the main reason for this lies in their own inability to match their plans with the actual possibilities, and to bear down on painstaking organizational work. There was a time when about 50 youth organizations were active within the center. But, Alas, far from all of them were fated to endure the organizational trials. People began to leave, and the enthusiasm gradually died out.

No matter how it was there, the idea of a republic youth center—a powerful creative laboratory and a unified methodological center in the area of modern youth culture, sounds exceptionally timely today. Indisputably, its absence today to a certain extent aggravates the difficulties and explains our lack of connection with and understanding of the complex spiritual processes taking place in the youth environment. Here are the sources of our being uninformed, and the subjective decisions adopted in a number of instances with respect to young people's organizations. From thence proceed the belated reactions to processes which have already gone a long way, and the gap which has to this very day not been eliminated, in the time between the emergence of a new phenomenon in the youth environment, and its analysis. A republic youth center could be the answer to many questions. As time has shown, those people are 100 percent wrong who used to assert, and continue to assert, that this project can be delayed, saying that it's not on fire and it's not spilling over. This is nothing other than the infamous residuals principle applied to building the young people's culture.

As I finish this article I would like to say that today we all have an interest in opening the way to youthful initiative and energies. Faith in the young people and encouragement of their undertakings should become the First Commandment in ideological-educational work with them. This is an unconditionally Leninist requirement, which proceeds from the peculiarities of the present moment in the development of our society. It is precisely such an attitude toward young people that Lenin insisted upon. Making a speech in 1920, Vladimir Ilich spoke of the fact that success in the cause can be assured "by means of the young workers and peasants, who have been inspired to an unprecedented degree with the independent desire, readiness and decisiveness to take up the matter of the administration of the state themselves." It was another time, and there were other tasks—but how much there is in common. And today, at the stage of a grandiose restructuring, it is important to deeply experience and thoroughly understand the Leninist approach to the matter, and to learn from Lenin the attitude toward young people.

09006

**OVIR Official Discusses Divided Couples**  
*18120038 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English*  
*No 48, 6-13 Dec 87 p 5*

[Text] The question was again raised in one of the TV bridges (the bridge is one of the most popular TV programmes) about "divided couples"—citizens of the USSR and the USA who had married but who live, for different reasons, in their own countries. At this meeting the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet suggested that a working group be set up of Soviet and U.S. legislators to tackle specific problems and, quite often, rather complicated legal situation. In particular, the situations, connected with the reunion of families. The U.S. participants failed to come up with a definite answer.

A draft resolution was presented for discussion in the U.S. Congress in which the Congressmen called upon the USSR to immediately permit all those who wish to reunite with their spouses in the USA.

"How serious is the problem?" an MN correspondent asked Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Soviet Visa Office and Registration for Foreigners of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. He said:

First, let's find out the statistic. In the last 5 years more than 16,000 Soviet citizens have married foreigners temporarily living in the USSR. Some 8,000 of them have gone abroad to live there permanently. Quite a lot. And, after all, life is life, and every person has a fate of his or her own, which sometimes can be complicated and dramatic.

The majority of people, unfortunately, have a poor knowledge of their own rights and duties. They know even less about the marriage-family legislation of the country of their future spouse. Many have no idea at all what norms will regulate the life of their children. They don't know that in the country they wish to go away to their marriage might be officially regarded as not valid. They don't know that there still exists in some countries—officially—polygamy. Believe me, sometimes we come up against fantastical collisions.

That's why we, jointly with the Marriage Registration offices, try to give consultations to people, who wish to marry citizens of other countries and to acquaint them with what might happen there. We advise those who have already married to first use their right of temporary stay in the country—to weigh things up, so as not to regret later on their hasty decision. In doing this, we display concern, above all, for the children's interests.

[Question] What can you say about the families, whose future causes such concern for the U.S. Congressmen?

[Answer] In recent years there has been talk about 52 divided couples separated by the Atlantic. Each of the cases, when permission to leave the USSR was refused, was considered several times by us. As the former

limitations lost force, the cases were solved favourably—after 2 years 47 of the 52 people got permission to leave. The resolution at the Congress mentioned 15 couples. Most of them have either already left the USSR or have permission to do so. Only five are left.

[Question] What are the reasons for not giving permission to leave?

[Answer] In some cases it is due to the fact that the person, who applied for permission, possessed information, the disclosure of which could damage our state. But as time passes, data ceases to be secret. In other cases, the reason was the absence of consent for leaving on the part of parents. According to our law, such consent is a must. In some cases exit was refused due to unregulated property circumstances. Sometimes, as happened with Yevgeny Grigorishin, who'd been sentenced for theft and fraud, we have to explain to the applicants that first they must serve their sentence.

Recently we spoke about the specific circumstances of different couples with Richard Schifter, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, who visited Moscow. We also dealt with "adjacent" questions, like a marriages of couples "doomed to be divided" from the start: there are cases when a Soviet citizen is aware that for a certain—maybe a prolonged—time he or she may not be permitted to leave the USSR, and his or her future spouse does not agree to live in the USSR.

The law permits a Soviet to marry a foreigner and that's that. But quite often the logic of people's activities forces one to think that the marriage is a way of gaining a transport pass, a fictitious marriage. A certain Lodysev received as soon as he left the USSR, from his "wife" a bill for 100,000 U.S. dollars as compensation for what she paid for his transportation. Take Petras Pakenas' case. He married again—Galina Veleshina, then he divorced her. Veleshina got permission and left for Israel. It turned out that the two remarried, but kept the fact secret. So again we have a "divided family."

[Question] I've heard of cases when people refuse to go abroad even after they get permission. They apply for the permission to leave to achieve some other goals—to create a sensation around their name, to blackmail someone by applying for permission, etc. Is that so?

[Answer] Yes, there are some people like that. Take, for example, Losif Begun. Quite a lot has been written about him. I'd prefer not to speak of him. Though he hasn't given an official application on his refusal to leave. There are cases, when people persist for a long time to get a visa, and, getting it, start to beat around the bush. There are more direct refusals, due to completely personal reasons, and apparently, to the changes in our society.

[Question] Have there been cases of people not given permission to reunite with their spouses in the USSR?

[Answer] Yes. The latest one is that of Boris Sheinin who has returned to the USSR from Israel. He has complained that permission to go to the USSR is being refused his wife.

/12232

#### Alternative to Adoption, Children's Homes Suggested

*18300075 LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA* in Russian 27 Nov 87 p 16

[Article by Yelena Grosheva: "She Should Be Brought Up...: Why Is It Necessary To Choose Between Adoption or Orphanhood? There Is a Third Alternative."]

[Text] It is already a year now since I stopped working at the Children's Home. I did not leave exactly "at my own volition," but neither was I chased away with a stick. I could have remained. After a year and a half of working there all I had were feelings of sorrow and despair: a feeling that there was nothing, just nothing that I could do! I was in charge of about 20 two-year-old little girls; all my strength went into dressing, washing, and feeding them, as well as changing their panties.... If a nursemaid had been there, I would have managed to take the kids for walks and kept them busy with tasks and games. But everything there was just a heap of trouble: fuss and bother, noise, giving orders, chasing after the kids, and telling them not to do various things.... But, you know, each little heart there had congealed and become a solid lump of pain; it was impossible to let anyone of them out of your arms!

Here was Irinka, for example. She had returned to the group in a virtually lifeless condition after an illness. You could not divert her or cheer her up with anything; whether standing or sitting, she would just rock back and forth. Suddenly I saw her hiding in a corner trying to swaddle a doll just like I had been showing Natasha how to do. I went up to her, but she threw everything aside and began rocking back and forth again. Of course, I myself would have rocked her, if that would have made her feel better! And I would have fed her with a spoon, lay down to sleep with her, and kept her always in my arms. And I would have told her over and over again that she was my little girl, that I loved her so very much, and that I would not give her away to anyone.... But she is frightened by her own life; she will lose her mind more and more, inasmuch as she inherited bad psychological illnesses at birth. But even if, to the detriment of the other children, as well as contrary to the "pediatric process" and the "sanitary hygiene regime," I had begun to cure Irinka, it would have been only during my shift. When I went home, she would have been abandoned again.

It is not difficult to replace a specialist who knows how to wash, feed, and pat children on their heads. All the more so in that the salaries of persons engaged in such work are high. Furthermore, there are all sorts of added

payments, lengthy leaves, and a short working day.... There is always a competition among applicants to fill these vacancies! And the children do not notice the losses: so many of us flash by in front of them....

It is impossible to raise children like chicks in an incubator, to mold human souls on a conveyor-belt by an assembly-line method. Such a system simply cripples the smallest children. In the first few years of life for a tiny tot the spiritual link with a Big Person is like a continuation of the umbilical cord which connects it with the mother before birth. But we try with all our might to replace this link with pedagogical injections, and we are still surprised that the ungrateful patients—those whom we are bringing up—all lag far behind in their development, suffer from nervous disorders, and are seriously ill much of the time. And this in addition to the fact that they have already been shattered by their parents' troubles! Force is not appropriate here; we must look into their souls, search for the mistakes that have been made, and correct them....

I have not yet corrected anything. And in this matter I am guilty before Irinka, before those children who were under my care, and before all the "losers." And it is only by deeds that I can redeem this guilt.

The simplest thing of all would be if someone were to adopt Irinka and some of the others. But not a single one of "my" children are suitable for adoption. By a special order only absolutely healthy children are allowed to be adopted, and there are practically no such children in the Children's Home. Childless couples and single women wait for years for healthy tiny tots—and that is also a cause for sorrow! At our Children's Home the waiting line now numbers in the hundreds, but it is considered good if five children a year are adopted.

But even if there were no such order, it would be a frightening thing for me or anyone else to knowingly take in an ill child. He could not be turned over to a kindergarten but would have to be brought up at home. And so the mother would have no wages and no period of work service. That would be all right if there were a male breadwinner in the family, but not every husband would agree to be saddled with additional mouths to feed. All the more so if money is needed for treatments and long trips have to be taken to see medical specialists. Of course, a family has greater chances of healing a tiny tot; loving parents have healed even seemingly hopeless cases. But if the illness turns out to be even stronger, then all the heavy weight of this misfortune would fall upon the shoulders of the adopting couple; nobody would share it with them. Would many persons be found wishing to subject themselves to such a sacrifice? And nobody asks for the children's consent; in any case, they remain orphans even of those who only need love and a family for health. What is the reason for these sacrifices?

Why is it necessary to choose between adoption or orphanhood? There is a third alternative. It is really so simple! And it does not require any additional expenditures.

O, my humanitarian and just State! Entrust my family with the upbringing of the children under your care! Permit at least Irinka to be transferred from the group to my home. Let the same amount of money be allocated for her that would have been spent in the state institution. I know that this is a great deal of money, and I also know that in a family expenditures can be more economical. Let the "extra amounts" be put into her account; they would come in handy for her future. And I would prepare Irinka herself for that time.

Ideally, a child should be brought up in a family prior to entering upon his own independent life. He need not bear my last name. He need not even bear the legal obligation to assist me in my old age! Is that really the main thing? Because, you know, even nowadays one encounters situations whereby children—one's own children—abandon their own parents in their old age and infirmities. And so it is not so much the de jure law which obligates children to assist their parents as it is the moral law. Our country has had experience with such a pattern of upbringing referred to previously. Do you remember how during the wartime years people took evacuated children into their own families? Many people did not bother to fill out the application forms for adoption but simply brought other people's children up just like their own, sharing the last piece of bread and maternal warmth with them. And later, when these children found their real parents, they considered the people who brought them up as their second parents and treated them with love and tenderness.

And is this merely a matter of gratitude? Is that really all a mother needs who is raising a child? But to bring up a fine, healthy, good person who is industrious and noble—is this not happiness? What more payment is needed? And, you know, it is possible; it can be done if the children are taken into a family for the purpose of bringing them up.

Children living at home become ill less frequently simply because they come in contact less frequently with all sorts of infections. And it is easier to safeguard and train one than 20. Nor are any orders or force necessary; at home even the schedule can be somewhat easygoing and flexible, suitable to the child's convenience and individual feelings. I would try to make Irinka's life not only calm and cozy, but also cheerful and interesting. We would go for walks, study the entire city, as well as the forest and the little river. We would read a mountain of little books and play all sorts of games. She would not be lonely for a single moment. Where I could not help, the children would help; Irinka would have older sisters and a brother. And even my husband, no matter how stern and busy he might be, would not push a tiny tot away. We would take her to the seashore, to the country, to

visit her grandpa and grandma.... Not a single children's institution—not even the most exemplary one—can give a child that which he receives so easily and naturally in a family! If we were to succeed in curing Irinka, we could talk about her future. And even if we did not cure her, there would be a support for her between hospitals—the family.

I would also like to take Sashenka; she has been shattered no less than Irinka, but her character is somewhat stronger. Likewise that sly dodger, the deaf Dimka, with whom some people in the Children's Home have only unpleasantness. Likewise Rustamchik and Kolya—even though they are so weak that they could hardly make it out of the hospitals, and....

But this is already much more complicated. Our apartment is not big enough for such a family. Now if we were to use the neighboring two-room apartment for the children's quarters.... We would need help in re-equipping it, and stores (we would need special registration). Laundering, cleaning, cooking—could I cope with it all? Of course, there are families with as many as 10 children, but there they have come in "stages"; they do not have five tiny tots all at once. I would have to take a good hard look and figure out how many kids my strength could cope with, and where I would need help. I already have an assistant in mind: a nursemaid from my former group named Irina Mikhaylovna Yevdokimovna—a young person, kind, and very earnest. She has her own particular interest in this matter: she wants to take Vitya out of the Children's Home. He is a little boy with an extremely serious heart defect; it is utterly impossible for him to remain there.

Now for some mercantile matters. Ah, how beautiful it would look to declare that I would need nothing for myself personally! But, of course, I would need certain things. And, in order that I might obtain a period of working service and wages, let matters be recalculated on a per-child basis. It would not be much; the main thing is that this work be recognized as necessary and important, that it not be considered as something eccentric. And in no case should it be regarded as a heroic deed.

This might seem incomprehensible to those for whom "fuss and bother with children" is a "drag," just as for me, for example, handling "pieces of iron" or figures is difficult. To each his own. Not every family would agree to take in someone else's child, even under the best conditions. But there are people who are prepared to take in a tiny tot in need of help right away, moreover, even without any wages, etc. During the last six months I have received almost 300 letters with such proposals, even though, of course, nothing depends on me and my correspondents understand that. It is simply and obviously a case of their having nowhere else to turn. Nevertheless, even if I had 300 children, I would be in no great hurry to give them out. A noble act may be decided upon once, but perhaps it might be regretted later. Because, of course, a child must not be considered to be

a punishment or a burden. Therefore, it is important to think everything out thoroughly and correctly organize matters. That is what I would proceed to do expeditiously.

The health-care and educational organs will probably consider these proposals to be insufficiently specific and, on the whole, neither new nor original: their staff members have studied the operational experience of family-type children's homes in the socialist countries and, possibly, even defended dissertations on this topic. But they still fail to understand how the skills obtained abroad can be utilized. Or do they merely need a convincing answer to the question: why is it impossible for me to do this?

In appealing to the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin, I propose to put the question to the responsible organizations in another way:

"How can it be done? Taking into consideration the fact that these days there are not enough institutions for orphan children and children left without parental care, and that hundreds of essentially homeless tiny tots live for months and years in hospitals, how can we immediately organize the transfer of little kids to be brought up in families which are prepared to offer them their own homes and their own care?"

2384

#### Paper Criticizes Prenatal Care, Gives Abortion Statistics

18300054 Kiev *PRAVDA UKRAINY* in Russian  
23 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by T. Mayboroda: "The Decision to Become a Mother"]

[Text] Little girls play mother-daughter games. Each woman is imbued with the natural instinct of motherhood. Unfortunately, not all succeed in fulfilling that instinct. But those who do become mamas often reach their destination through the pangs of physical and mental pain.

#### Falsehood into Salvation

Oksana didn't know how to lie, and indeed didn't want to lie. But her friends and acquaintances who had already given birth, as if by arrangement, advised her: When you go for your first visit to the doctor, add two weeks to the term of pregnancy, otherwise you won't get a maternity leave. She didn't want to lose any money. However, at the prenatal clinic she couldn't fight off her embarrassment and gave the presumed correct date. But the physician, who had long since become accustomed to the tricks of his women patients, took off three weeks from the expected date. "Well, there you are, it turns out that I told the truth for no purpose," she thought, feeling offended.

If she had only known then that her lie canceled by the physician's official lie could have been a saving lie! No, not for herself, and not for money, but for the child who is not here today...

The expected birth date was not changed during Oksana's subsequent visits to the clinic. It was written down on her card. But the contractions began a month earlier than the noted date.

In the reception room of the maternity home she was told: "It's still too early for you to give birth. Now we'll give you a couple of injections and it will all go away." No attention was paid to her timid "but it is time for me to give birth now." She was given the injections. And there Oksana lost consciousness.

Later, it was other physicians who artificially induced the artificially interrupted parturition. The child could not be saved. He was listed in the hospital register as a stillborn...

That happened in Kiev. But it could have happened in any other city to any other woman. Such was the price of mutual distrust on the part of the gynecologist-obstetrician and the future mother.

... And as for the money that Oksana did not receive was not lost altogether. That money was received by some other woman who "outwitted" perhaps a completely different doctor and gave birth, let's say, a month later than the expected date.

Is there not any way to break the vicious cycle of this lying that is not at all life-saving, but in fact lethal? There is. Both the physicians and the patients are of one opinion: It is necessary to desist from the traditional and oftentimes unjustified division of maternity leave into the "pre" and "postnatal" periods. There should be one leave for births with guaranteed payment for a hospital stay of 112 days regardless of whether the woman gives birth before or after the expected date.

#### Unmerciful Mercy

Here are some lines from a letter by Tamara K.

"I had occasion to be in a maternity home two times. I had three abortions and one time I was at the gynecology department at the hospital.

More often than not the senior, middle level, and junior medical personnel see you as a potential source of bribe money. Not only do they see you as such but even prompt to do this. If you offer money and gifts they condescend to take care of you, if not... My ten-day stay in the gynecology department cost me 300 rubles.

...When you are giving birth, no one tries to alleviate your pains, no one helps you go through the suffering by offering a kind word or some kind of practical help. The only thing you hear are shouts like "what are you bawling about?" or "where on earth did you go!"

Unfortunately, such letters are written frequently.

I spoke to many Kievan mothers about today's maternity problems. And alas, their testimony was not something to pride in. Marina L. lay in the obstetric ward of Hospital No. 23. Lack of sanitation. You can never get a nurse to answer calls. There is a shortage of sterile swaddling clothes.

Anna R.: Third time in the maternity home. They feed you when they want to. If you are five minutes late for a meal in the dining room, you don't eat.

Lyudmila S.: I gave birth at the First Hospital. In the reception room, in spite of the frequent contractions, they literally persisted in trying to find out what kind of illnesses I had as a child and whether any of my relatives had tuberculosis. Answers to such questions could also be given after a woman gives birth. It would be much better if some kind of maternity order were introduced directly into the maternity clinic.

...Women have complained about the close quarters of the wards and the "forgetfulness" of pediatricians who fail to inform the new mothers about the condition of their newborn. There is practically no training offered either at the maternity clinic or the hospital clinic on how to pump breast milk. Prior to their discharge from the maternity home they were not examined by a gynecologist. And there was a unanimous complaint about the shortage of kindness.

One of the letters with which I became familiar at the city health administration ended with the appeal: "...We are living persons, comrade medics. Your indifference is painful to us. Is it possible that you have become so accustomed to human suffering? Be merciful!"

#### The Back Door

Not every pregnancy ends in a birth. The woman herself is the first to decide whether or not there is to be a child. And no one can deprive her of that right.

Neither medical science nor the practical public health services have so far offered effective recommendations for improving family planning and information about contraception among various contingents of women. And here is a lamentable statistic: One out of every three pregnancies these days ends up as an abortion. This is serious food for thought for demographers, sociologists, and economists. But we shall examine the medical aspect of the problem.

"It was stupid of me (in my youth, of course) to get an abortion via the private route. Until this day I shudder when I think about it! But the risk to a family life still remains. There were two additional times that I had to go through that procedure. Only now through someone's influence, I paid 25 rubles for my second abortion (so that I could get an intravenous injection), and 50 rubles for the third abortion. That is the price for this kind of operation in Donetsk. The risk of getting caught taking bribes has grown as has the price of the bribes. Svetlana N."

And in Kharkov, according to Tatyana S., that fee has gone up to 70 rubles. A good half of the women who go to the gynecology hospitals prefer to go through the back door to terminate their pregnancy. And so it is in all 1 oblasts of the republic.

What is it that compels them to resort to do this on the quiet? It is that same callousness of the medics who are capable of "pulling out a living entity from a living person" without anesthetics. When a woman comes to a hospital in the conventional way she frequently must put up with crudeness and is refused even elementary human attentiveness, not to mention compassion.

Up to 6,000 abortions are registered every month in Kiev. If one adds to that the number of "on the sly" and criminal abortions, the total will come to 10,000. These figures indicate, first of all, that the quality of prophylactic services at the maternity clinics is very low.

These very clinics could accord women more effective practical assistance. I have in mind an operation that employs the vacuum aspiration method. This kind of pregnancy interruption has been previously recognized as a more merciful and economic procedure. The USSR Ministry of Health and subsequently the republic ministry as well have recommended a broader use of this method not only in hospitals but in out-patient situations as well.

I pick up the telephone and call the maternity clinics in the Darnitskiy, Zhovtnevy, Zaliznichny, and Lenigradskiy rayons of Kiev and ask: "Can you perform a vacuum-aspiration operation?" The answer is always the same: "No, we don't do those operations." Only one of those clinics advised me to inquire at a hospital.

Both in verbal discussions and written appeals by women to public health authorities and the press one hears a persistently increasing desire to organize paid wards or departments where artificial terminations of pregnancies would be performed (with a guaranteed high quality of service).

One should mention that the USSR Ministry of Health is already looking into the organization of cost-accounting hospitals of that nature. It would be desirable if local authorities too do not put off making a decision on such an urgent problem..

### ...It Is Difficult for the Medical Personnel Too

It was just about midnight. Lidiya Pavlovna ran out of all possible arguments, but the pregnant woman stubbornly refused to go to a hospital. In spite of elevated pressure and edema in her legs, she frantically affirmed: "Don't try to talk me into it, I won't go anyway!"

Finally the patient's husband arrived. After having heard the physician argue for the need to have his wife hospitalized, he pointed out the door to Lidiya Pavlovna and declared: That's enough of terrorizing us. You have come here for the third time now. She already said she is not going..."

The physician was compelled to go their neighbors for help and call an ambulance and as a warning, he threatened to call the militia. Unfortunately, there are many such future mothers who don't follow the procedures for visiting a maternal clinic and who will not allow anyone to see them, not even the beneficial intervention of medical personnel. And if there are any complications during birth because of their own connivance, they still think the physicians are to blame.

In a number of socialist countries, these kind of doctor-patient relations are regulated by economics. For example, if a woman comes for her first visit at an advanced date (in our country many women appear only to obtain their prenatal leave) — she does not receive a part of her payment for the hospital charges. And if she does show up for subsequent check-ups, she will lose another part of her leave. Practice has shown the effectiveness of such measures which ultimately benefit both the health of the mother and the child to be born.

An obstetric-gynecology district is normally supposed to cover (geographically) up to 3,300 women. Today in Kiev a district physician sees from four to five thousand women. The lack of sufficient time (at this workload only 10 to 12 minutes are spent per visit instead of 15) means that there is lack of sufficient attention given to the patient. The level of material-technical sufficiency and medical equipment availability at the maternal clinics also leave much to be desired.

And what are the conditions in the hospitals? First of all it should be said that many of the hospitals are in makeshift premises that do not satisfy contemporary requirements. And in such major rayons of the republic's capital as the Zhovtnevy and Shevchenkovskiy rayons there are no obstetric hospitals at all.

The shortage of facilities results in their being overloaded. Whereas the normal space allowance for an adult bed is 7 square meters, that allowance is from 2.7 to 3 square meters at the maternity wards of hospitals Nos 2, 7, and 14, 2.5 square meters in the second maternity home, and 4.5 square meters at the First Hospital. Newborns are also accommodated under such tight quarters at many hospitals. The ideal situation toward

which we have been striving everywhere, i.e., where the healthy and child are together in a separate ward, is still only being experimentally tested in a few clinics of the republic.

### Custodians In Custody

Maternity homes in particular, more than any other therapeutic institution, require a strict observance of sanitation and hygiene procedures. The immune system of infants is feeble. Any infection for them is fraught with serious consequences.

However, in this area too the situation is far from perfect. Infant mortality, including prenatal mortality (i.e., in maternity homes) in the Ukraine is about at the national average level. But in Estonia, for example, the mortality is one and one-half times lower than the national average.

Crude violations of sanitation and hygiene procedures are being tolerated in a number of maternity homes and maternity wards. An enumeration of such places would be excessively long. Suffice to say that a recent certification inspection of maternity homes by the city sanitation and epidemiology station disclosed violations in 106 out of the 203 locations checked.

What kind of penalties are being imposed by the guardians of sanitation against those who do not observe proper procedures? Closing a therapeutic institution for unscheduled sanitation improvement — Extraordinary Event [ChP]. In most cases the city sanitation and epidemiology station submits its reports to the health administration to which it is subordinate. This kind of departmental accountability markedly reduces the effectiveness of the controlling office's operations. Is it not time to copy the situation in industry (where the technical control division was for a long time dependent upon the enterprises' administration) and make the sanitation and epidemiological station independent of the city health departments and administrations, and in the best of cases, equal to other subdivisions of the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies?

From the editors: The present article touches upon only a few of the painful aspects of mother and child care — an area in the restructuring plans for public health that has been brought out for public discussion and that has been officially labeled a priority item. We hope that our readers, and particularly our women readers, will help us fill out the picture by writing to us about how their villages, cities, and oblasts are handling the resolution of urgent tasks dealing with the extraordinary and priority development and improvement of mother and child care services.

### Teachers Must Deal With New Aspects of Nationalities Problem

18000117 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Sep 87 p 3

[Article by I. Yankovskiy, acting head of the Department of Social Sciences of the Republic Institute of Teacher Qualification, and E. Sarv, deputy director of the Institute: "Internationalism Is Alive Through Humanism"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] What can a teacher, as an educator, offer his pupils, who are giving an unhealthy interpretation to the facts that they know about national frictions in a multi-national environment?

His humanism. His deep international conviction, his erudition on problems in the history of international relations, the practical organization of contact between nations in the environment of their habitat, and, again, on a humanistic basis.

The ideas of restructuring require that school teachers rethink their methods of teaching and educating. The national problematics on this plane are no exception. Teachers need profound theoretical formulations, opening up today's processes. The fact that we do not have these formulations, on which an educator could lean for support, greatly complicates the matter. Even the available advanced experience in international education in the schools is, so to speak, grasped only intuitively, is not explained and is not analyzed methodologically.

Dealing with these formulations must not be put off any longer.

It seems that even the Republic Teacher Qualification Institute should review, from today's standpoints, the content of the refresher training courses for all school teachers, not just those in the Humanities. The training on the national problems must be differentiated. Familiarize the teachers in Russian schools with courses on the history of the Estonian people, their culture and revolutionary struggles, with the special features of the nation—ethno-social and possibly, psychological as well—since, without a knowledge of these special features, the essence of today's national relations cannot be adequately revealed. Teachers in Estonian schools must have special courses, revealing the specific economic and social mechanisms of territorial mobility and migration. The teacher must not only sense the social-psychological mood of the young people, as related to these processes, but also take it into consideration in educational work.

Humanism is based on recognizing the value of the human personality—regardless of the circumstances. The psychologically formed image of a "foe," of an "enemy" is contraindicative for humanism.

If what is incomprehensible to me, unknown, makes me suspicious, and this suspicion grows into an unrealized fear, a hostility, then this image of a "foe" forms in my mind. Let us suppose I am brought up in a specific national environment (family, language, tales, ceremonies, traditions), and suddenly some people appear close by who speak in a language unintelligible to me, scorn the ways and norms of behavior to which I am accustomed and express their attitude toward life around them with unaccustomed emotion. To me these people seem unpleasant, they are frightening. This is the ethnocentric attitude of a person who has not developed in the channel of humanist tradition. It turns out that for this person the concept of "we" is associated with the accustomed ethnic standards, and not with the human qualities that make it possible to see the true, real worth of another person—heartfelt generosity, decency, integrity, loyalty, etc. And vice-versa. An unworthy representative of your nation seems nearer and dearer than a noble "alien", simply because he is your compatriot. This—is the manifestation of the anti-humanist tendency of ethnic consciousness.

We have always acknowledged the value of humanism. The realia of a person's behavior, however, and the standard for evaluating his conduct have not been established, or have by no means always been established. Why? Apparently, the problem lies in the general situation that has formed in our society in the last few decades, in the stagnation, in the devaluation of general humanist values and in the divergence of word and deed and the violation of the principles of social justice. All this could not help but rouse the phenomena of undeveloped social consciousness and ethnocentrism.

Some people have given a morbid interpretation to the election of G. Kolbin as first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, regarding it as the manifestation of great-power chauvinism. Meanwhile, as the materials of the Plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee attest, no one has done more harm to the Kazakhs in the last few years than the Kazakh Kunayev. The actions of the new party leadership of Kazakhstan to struggle against corruption, tribal enmity, protectionism and embezzlement of public funds have been taken for the sake of the simple workers—and most of all, the Kazakhs.

The party has now taken a decisive course toward a truthful interpretation of the history of our society.

One teacher, ostensibly guided by this course, will explain to the children the tragedies and deformation that took place due to the cult of personality in subsequent times as well, focusing attention on the injustices to which, let us say, the Estonians were subjected in the period of the cult of personality. He failed to mention at the same time that nothing like that could take place and did not take place in those troubled times in other nations of the country. Thus, under the guise of fighting for a truthful interpretation of history, he will form in the

students a sharply negative attitude toward everything that goes well "on that side" of Lake Chudskoye, with "socialism the Russian way." His colleague from a Russian school, however, will emphasize the atrocities of punitive Estonians in the camps at Kloog and Kalevi-Liyve, forming a bias against Estonians. It is as if he wanted, all the same, not to allow these "struggles for truth in history" to come within firing range of the children.

Right now it is extremely important for a school teacher to show that the attitude toward restructuring is primarily a social, and not a national problem, to obstruct the frame of mind, existing here and there, that restructuring is necessary for others—let us say, the Russians, the Kazakhs—but not the Estonians: since, they say, in Estonia, even before, things were not going badly, and now they are in order.

From the standpoint of a formal approach, it would seem that mixed kindergartens and schools should to a large extent contribute to the arisal and reinforcement of friendship between children and respect for other peoples.

The slight experience, however, which exists in this respect does not corroborate this supposition. Apparently, a lack of skill in teaching varying standards of behavior, everyday traditions, tastes (for example, in setting up housing), attitude toward the environment and certain elements of psychological compatibility exerts an influence here. The need arises to duplicate all the measures. In practice, tensions thus arise, which take on a national coloring and lead to undesirable results, above all to negative attitudes of a varying degree of acuteness. It is possible that the method of solving the problem is itself often at fault—administrative, instead of an objective study of successful experience in small collectives.

The objective processes complicating international and patriotic education today are above all the processes that change the face of society: intensification of territorial and general social mobility, urbanization and a change in the social quality of the migrants. These processes affect the ratios of occupational, social and national groups. They can cause a state of tension, including that in national interrelations. We are now speaking of the level of interpersonal contact, ordinary consciousness and forms of expressing stereotypes of social psychology.

Can it be considered normal, for example, that not all Russian schools make it possible to study the Estonian language and culture? Or that many specialized schools in the republic do not train specialists for Russian schools? More such examples can be given. They say that they are not specific. They do not in themselves reflect the essence of national processes (somewhere in Ryazan or Sverdlovsk they can come into collision—"we-they", "the center—the provinces"), and that the complex nature of this "confrontation" has its roots in the inability to see

and make use of the conformity to principle of the development of a new society and to give it the dynamism which would be able to utilize the advantages of socialism, and that it is necessary only to learn and name these causes and effects, and any tension will be removed. This is incorrect. Here is a simple example: in a single-nation environment, no conflicts arise on a national basis. They simply cannot arise. Conversely, a multi-nation environment, even though only potentially, contains the danger of tensions between the nations, even if because any fact of social trouble (housing, everyday life, distribution of bonuses and travel authorizations), on the level of everyday consciousness can at times acquire and continue to acquire a national coloring.

The present generation is a product of its time, one of the signs of which is an inevitable weakening of the psychological attachment of some of the people (and children as well) to their home (migration). Problems arise of "settling" a new territory of residence and adaptation is often complex and dramatic on both the social and ecological plane. The low ecological standard of production is in opposition to the high ecological standard of outlook of the local population. The local intelligentsia in Estonia consistently comes out in favor of nature conservation in its small republic. Unfortunately, this coming out is gradually taking on the nature of coming out against the trends which apparently come "from the center." Thus the ecological problem can seemingly take on national coloring, which must not be considered normal. These complex problems of instilling patriotism and internationalism must not be ignored in the schools, especially since, due to migration, the feeling of attachment to native locales tends to be broken. One must educate children today by using new aspects of the effect of culture on the psychology of the pupil and by fostering an understanding of the many complexities of the modern world. It is possible that schools need electives in ecological education, ethnographic ethics and culture. How high, consequently, are the demands for the level of general culture of today's teacher, his pedagogical ethics and general human qualities!

12151

**Sociological Study on Teen Attitudes Toward Money, Work**  
*1830002a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Sep 87 p 13*

[Unsigned article: "In Front of the Mirror; The Laboratory of Youth Problems Provides Results of the Survey 'Teenagers and Money'"]

[Text] Several months ago the Laboratory of Youth Problems of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA took a sounding of public opinion among high school students and students of vocational-technical schools in Moscow, Leningrad, Yerevan, and Ashkhabad. Anyone could be selected—the

researchers did not distinguish between "working" and "student" teen-agers. What income do they consider sufficient for themselves? Who has the most money in our society? Have they ever been involved in the "black market"? What income would be considered "under the table"? These and other questions were answered by 798 individuals—those who are between 16 and 17 years old today, and tomorrow will be going out into the working world. The results of the study are discussed by the following people: Boris Doktorov, doctor of philosophical sciences; Leonid Gordon, doctor of historical sciences; Farkhad Ilyasov, candidate of philosophical sciences; Igor Kon, doctor of philosophical sciences; Tatyana Olegina, teacher in Secondary School No 38 in Moscow; Gevork Pogosyan, candidate of philosophical sciences; Olga Chaykovskaya, writer; and Vladimir Yadov, doctor of philosophical sciences.

**Deputy chief editor of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Gennadiy Batygin leads the discussion.**

**G. Batygin.** First a few impressions about how the survey was conducted. To say that it provoked interest is an understatement. Money, whether we like it or not, is almost a forbidden topic, and now, right in the classroom, in front of everyone.... How horrible! No, they were not afraid of punishment, that was not the problem. It is simply that a vague taboo surrounds the subject; money, of course, is an attractive thing, but somehow it is not for children. More specifically, we adults take the view that our children have neither money nor any need for it—well, maybe for movies or ice cream. This territory is still unexplored by both sociologists and pedagogues. Childhood and youth appear to us in a sentimental, rosy light. And yet this is another life, a life which—despite what we customarily think, namely, that the young person is only just entering into it—it is a life which has its tragedies and the implacable "rules of the game." I was stunned when I observed signs of a "youth economy"—a specialized sphere of distribution and exchange which we are unwilling to notice, protecting not so much our children as ourselves.

Meanwhile, they are splendidly able to perform calculations about money. For example, they know precisely what their parents earn (on many questionnaires their wages were indicated both with and without deductions), and what costs how much. For another thing, 17-year-olds—almost adults!—are oriented only toward spending money, toward using ready money.

#### **Sociological Information.**

At the time of the survey, students in upper grades in Moscow had an average of 43 rubles. There are substantial differences hidden behind this figure: 47 percent of those questioned had no more than 3 rubles at their command, while 28.6 percent had 10, and 15 percent had several hundred.

**O. Chaykovskaya.** They are surprising quick-witted in material matters, and it is not a bad thing that a young person knows how to calculate money matters. It has no direct bearing on the moral and spiritual life. The whole point is what kind of person he is. It is completely possible for sharpness in questions of money to be an ability which is outside of the spiritual realm. Much is concentrated on those little bits of paper. Here is not only the material interest, but a striving to possess a whole set of social goods. Not being limited by lack of funds can become the foundation for ascent of the spirit—there are so many different nuances here! But for the weak mind, the entire world is pushed into the background by the hierarchy, and with it, envy. It is a

burning feeling. A young person in a crowd—dismissed with a glance, wearing headphones, with the height of all daydreams hanging about his neck—a cassette player. This person is all alone in a crowd. But everything depends on what sort of a person he is. Young people strive to travel, love to read, but after all, these values are simultaneously spiritual and material....

#### Sociological Information.

What life values and aspirations are most widespread among young people? Responses from high school students and vocational students in Moscow and Yerevan (by percent of those questioned).

	Moscow		Yerevan	
	High School	Technical-Vocational School	High School	Technical-Vocational School
To have true friends	97.7	95.9	93.6	98.5
Love	90.8	94.8	87.8	90.9
Interesting job	88.5	92.2	89.5	90.9
Intellect	79.3	66.2	76.3	75.0
Fashion	77.7	90.6	83.7	91.0
Desire to start a family	62.1	90.0	64.8	65.3
Creativity	61.1	61.3	57.0	68.3
Respect for elders	51.1	74.5	79.5	90.0
Power	55.0	57.3	75.9	80.0
Studies	53.8	57.8	69.2	86.8
Rock music	47.7	56.9	57.3	73.9
Money	38.2	60.2	53.7	31.3
"Brand-name" goods	37.7	69.9	65.3	60.0
Career	37.5	54.5	66.3	46.9
Sex	31.9	45.9	37.1	22.2
Imitation of the "West"	16.9	33.7	39.5	30.2

**I. Kon.** What kind of life values have the greatest significance for contemporary young people? This question has more than one meaning. Those questioned responded not about themselves personally but about young people in general. Several points were formulated so as to have a deliberately negative sense, for example, "Imitation of the West." It is not surprising that a minority of those questioned attributed this property to their peers. Yet twice as many admit the craving for "brand-name" goods. (Obviously Western ones!) Fashion, and moreover, frequently Western fashion, holds one of the top spots.

**G. Batygin.** Isn't this evidence for unsteadiness of values?

**I. Kon.** The hierarchy of young people's values is stable. How much has been written about the impoverishment of young friendship! Yet it consistently holds first place in the hierarchy. The widely held opinion that for contemporary young people love is more important than sex is also unconfirmed.

Let's take a look at the attitude toward money. Between 38 and 60 percent of young men and women feel that striving for money is characteristic of our young people.

Is this a lot or a little? Is it good or bad? The whole point is how this money is obtained. Seventy percent of 17-year-old Muscovites said that they wanted to earn the money themselves, but did not know a single feasible way of doing this.

#### From the opinions of those questioned:

"...It is not very comfortable to answer such questions. But in our time money is needed very much, especially for us young people. We want to share, and this costs a lot of money. I could work now, but no one will take us (a person from 15-17 years old). They think that we have too little strength, but we have even more than adults. You can only buy good things "by hand" [s ruk—from private entrepreneur], for awesome prices, but they are not in our stores. So we overpay for them. And we earn money by the "black market" and sex, you can earn 100-150 rubles for a single night, but I am writing this just as an example, I don't do it myself, don't think that I am a prostitute. Olenka."

**G. Pogosyan.** Let's be realistic. In big cities, where we conducted the survey, there is nothing for a teen-ager without money to do: the movies, cafes, shows, and other

temptations. The contemporary upperclassman, who has a large part of the day to himself, has a right to demand "funds" [otkupnyye] of his own from his endlessly busy parents. Their ideas about future earnings are interesting. Young men proposed to earn an average of 147 rubles, young women an average of 177 rubles, children of leaders 171 rubles, and children of blue- and white-collar workers, 151 rubles; students in vocational-technical schools hope to earn somewhat more than high school students. Of course, many of these expectations are not destined to come true, but an average sum of 150 rubles is characteristic, reflecting the level of pretensions of teen-agers. They plan to start their independent working lives with 150 rubles! Let us recall the several dozen kopecks of pocket money and several rubles of "savings" in our childhood, and then add to this the first 70-80 rubles earned through our labor, in order to form an idea of the size and scale of "financial progress" in the last 15-20 years. It is only a shame that this progress has touched not so much the spirit as the "body." Analysis of the responses revealed 64 different "brand-name" articles which young people possess and which they cannot get alone without. Here are all those celebrated jeans, jogging suits, "botasy," "alyaski," "safari" gear, soccer jerseys, jackets, overalls, and also radio-stereo-video equipment, and cosmetics. We are not talking about daily bread here. Articles of clothing comprise 80 percent of the "wishes," and 15 percent were radio equipment, records, and so forth.

#### Sociological Information.

Listing the "brand-name" articles which they possess, respondents indicated their value. We calculated the average value of the articles independently for each group of young people and obtained the following results:

In Ashkhabad the average value of "brand-name" articles owned by:

- Children of leaders—177 rubles
- Children of white-collar workers—167 rubles
- Children of blue-collar workers—107 rubles

The data for Ashkhabad differed substantially from the analogous distribution in, for example, Leningrad, where:

- Children of leaders possess "brand-name" articles worth an average value of—121 rubles
- Children of white-collar workers—134 rubles
- Children of blue-collar workers—113 rubles

In all cities except for Leningrad, the average value of the "brand-name" articles possessed by young men was greater than those possessed by young women. The maximum figure obtained in the course of the survey was 277 rubles. This was for young people in Yerevan. For young women in Yerevan, the value of "brand-name" articles totaled 219 rubles. Inhabitants of Leningrad had the most modest possessions by value (119 rubles on average), while young women in Ashkhabad had a similar amount (128 rubles).

**F. Ilyasov.** In Ashkhabad, the average value of "brand-name" articles is higher than in other cities. In addition, there is greater differentiation between social groups here. The greatest differences within a group are observed among inhabitants of Ashkhabad, who are children of leaders. Here the deviation from the arithmetical mean is greater than 230 rubles—that is, many own things worth 400 rubles and more, while the minimum deviation was found among children of leaders in Leningrad: +/- 77 rubles.

Comparing the difference in the value of articles possessed by children of leaders, white-collar workers, and blue-collar workers, we clearly obtain a sort of indicator of social-economic differentiation. We come to the conclusion that differentiation in Ashkhabad is greater than in Leningrad (let us note that the average wages in the RSFSR and the Turkmen SSR do not differ substantially). Consequently, the whole point is in standards of consumer behavior. The striving of a person to increase his wages reflects his desire to "break into" a higher-spending consumer group. A survey previously conducted in Leningrad showed that in order to achieve this desire an inhabitant of Leningrad had to increase his wages by 30 percent, while inhabitants of Ashkhabad felt that they had to increase their wages by 42 percent. Thus, in order to get into the higher-spending consumer group, an inhabitant of Ashkhabad had to have one-third more than an inhabitant of Leningrad. The standards of consumer behavior, naturally, do not arise in a vacuum. In this case the higher standard is probably caused by a greater differentiation of income brought about by "shady [tenevoy] redistribution." My personal experience of audits of trade during work in the Turkmen SSR State Committee for Prices, and also conversations with auditors gives me grounds for suggesting that the level of shady income in the Turkmen SSR is relatively high. More than a third of those questioned had obtained "brand-name" articles from speculators, purchased an item brought "by hand" from abroad, bought from black marketeers, and so forth. Although in Yerevan the term "black market" is not particularly used, every third high school student has purchased goods "by hand" at speculators' prices. This is somewhat more than in Moscow (31 percent), in Leningrad (25 percent), or in Ashkhabad (16 percent). It is true that as regards students in vocational-technical schools, the inhabitants of Yerevan had the fewest dealings of all with the "black market." Judging by the expertise with which children are able to assess the value of "brand name" articles, it is clear how precisely teen-agers' consciousness reflects the actual state of the market and how "children's" prices have grown up. The average value of "brand-name" items possessed by young men is greater than those possessed by young women (based on radio equipment). There is a sort of "peak" of value of "brand name" articles at 200 rubles for 41.8 percent of young women questioned in Yerevan. As we see, "feminine finery" costs parents more than men's clothing.

In short, our young people know very well that it is fairly expensive to be well-dressed and shod and to have radio equipment. Sometimes significantly more expensive than their parents' wages or their own expected wages.

**From the Opinions of Those Questioned:**

"These days a person is judged not for his mind but for his external appearance, clothing, sometimes vulgar behavior, power. That is how I see it. Studies are not valued and, I think, will not be valued. From this, organizations of heavy-metal fans, punks, and hippies take shape. Human aspirations reduce to money and clothing. I consider this wrong." (Unsigned)

**Sociological Information. What course are they planning for their lives? (in percent)**

	Enter an Institute	Go to Work	Enter a Technical school
Young people from high school	92	5	3
Young people from vocational schools	12	73	15
Children of leaders	69	19	12
Children of white-collar workers	71	24	5
Children of blue-collar workers	35	50	15

**T. Olegina.** Young people are interested above all in searching out the sense of what is going on. One can, of course, condemn youngsters for no reason, but this will be not education but confrontation. For example, a school principal demands that the outside appearance of the students must correspond to the directions of the Ministry of Education, yet they continue to go about in earrings. The real life of teen-agers goes on somewhere outside, in the out-of-school dimension.

In general, it is difficult to detect any sort of economic differentiation in school—I mean an ordinary school. Specialized schools are another matter. There children are not only better fitted out, including with "brand name" articles, but the social and, if you will, intellectual status is quite different. The life's course being taught is also different. Please don't misunderstand me: I am not against specialized schools, but they have become a form of social differentiation of our children. And the situation is entirely different in the vocational-technical school. As of now, its prestige is fairly low. Later, of course, everyone finds his own place: graduates of

vocational-technical schools feel more confident in life when, as possessors of higher education diplomas they frequently leave uneducated youths behind. But that is later. Right now, they think of labor as something from another world, and in their imagination money is connected not so much with labor as with status. It is our misfortune that the "youth economy" which we are speaking about here is in essence outside of labor, even antilabor. Its orientation is the pursuit of the "brand name," but basically at parents' expense. Therefore, labor itself, for 17-year-olds today, is something they are forced to do, which as it were falls on them like a bolt from the blue after finishing high school.

No pedagogues are in any doubt that labor indoctrination in schools is one of their basic tasks. At the same time, the majority of pedagogues are convinced that any sort of additional work by students—in the soil, say, or in a cooperative store [universam]—is to the detriment of their education. Perhaps this is so, but I would not like to risk forming an oversimplistic opinion. Many of my pupils have worked part-time in a cooperative store. The earnings are trifling: 30-40 rubles per month, at a maximum 70. One boy suddenly became fascinated with work and began to get C's. It was necessary to convince him: give up work and study! Another boy, after working for a while, decided not to go into the institute—this is another position. I think that genuine, positive labor, labor not for the sake of a game but for money, would help to eliminate infantilism and the "shady economy" in the youth sphere.

**Sociological Information.**

Conceptions of high school students and students of vocational schools about "under the table" income (in percent).

**Income From Activities Termed "Under the Table"**

	Moscow	Leningrad	Yerevan
	High School Students		
Working after school	0.0	1.1	3.4
Trade at the market	21.5	39.1	23.9
Fixing up an apartment	24.6	24.5	17.2
Automobile repair services	30.4	29.8	24.4
Tutoring	29.1	19.6	27.4
Resale	96.8	87.8	91.2
Bribery	100.0	97.0	95.7
	Students at Vocational-Technical Schools		
Working after school	3.2	5.3	12.7
Trade at the market	52.9	46.3	24.9
Fixing up an apartment	38.5	27.0	37.9
Automobile repair services	45.1	46.2	37.3
Tutoring	19.8	33.3	41.5
Resale	96.9	94.0	81.8
Bribery	94.6	98.1	79.4

**L. Gordon.** The results of the study are graphic testimony: Something is rotten in the kingdom of children. Definitely, the youth economy has a tendency to be speculative or shady, and we must be able to fight this, no kind of bans or adjurations will help. Only a true economy, which is neither a command economy nor a shady one, and is oriented toward the needs of the buyer, free from authoritarian administration, is capable of correcting the distorted economic behavior of young people. Take, for example, the 17-year-olds' conceptions of "under the table" income. Only half of those questioned condemn them, the rest are neutral. Why is this happening? Who is guilty of warping young people's values? I think that the formation of a "double standard" of morality is largely caused by the fact that official propaganda, as a rule, condemns certain forms of labor activity which are not antisocial. Therefore, many people consider not only the income which comes from resale and bribes "under the table." Trade in the market, services to repair apartments and automobiles, in the opinion of a segment of those questioned, are also "under the table." It is the unthinking condemnation of all income whose source is labor outside state enterprises which leads to the rupture between word and actual economic behavior, to young people's disagreement with the officially approved system of values.

#### Sociological Information.

Who, in your opinion, has a lot of money? Where is money most easily earned? This question was answered by 213 17-year-old Muscovites. The entire "dictionary" included 340 professions and occupations. The most frequently encountered titles have been selected from it.

- Black marketeer—cited 47 times
- Miner—19
- Speculator—39
- Hairdresser—13
- Military—28
- Director—11
- Those who work in auto shops, restaurants, mines, in the North, in "Sovtrasnport", at APN, in Siberia, at glass collection points, abroad, etc.—27
- Salesperson—11
- Prostitute—11
- Diplomat—9
- Taxi driver—8
- Auto mechanic—6
- Pilot—6
- Artist—4
- Butcher—4
- Professor—4
- Minister—23

Among the remaining lucrative positions cited: prosecutor, steel founder, worker in a factory warehouse, photo correspondent, tutor, general, stewardess, doorman, prostheticist, writer, "working at the train station" (as what?), winterer, and so forth.

**F. Ilyasov.** Indeed, the concept of the ways of getting money gives rise to an internal conflict. The fact that money is regarded as one of the foremost values is fully acceptable when its source is labor. But the idea that a lot of money can be obtained only through "under the table" methods means a contradiction between what is declared and what is actual. Seventeen-year-olds have a pretty good idea who has a lot of money. The black marketeer and speculator are listed most frequently, while the minister, director, diplomat, and professor, taken together, are named nearly twice as infrequently. The miner and the pilot together received approximately the same number of "votes" as the hairdresser and salesperson combined. If the occupations mentioned are ranked according to number of citations, then the prostitute appears in 7th place, while the artist appears in 11th place. Along with the artist, an "honorary" 11th place is shared by the professor and the butcher (the last type of labor is divided among other salespersons). If the responses are separated into two groups under the headings of "earned" and "unearned" income, then it is possible to draw a conclusion which one could not call unexpected. The occupations which make it possible to earn a lot of money through unearned income are cited 1.5 times more frequently than high-paying professions. In the minds of young men and women the notion has become entrenched: a great deal of money may be obtained in activities connected with the receipt of "under the table" income. These include the "black market," speculation, and prostitution. The professions: hairdresser, salesperson, taxi driver, butcher.

**B. Doktorov.** The scientist and the "black marketeer," the APN political reviewer and the butcher, the diplomat and the prostitute.... In life they are separated by rigid status barriers. And suddenly they are reunited in the closed space of the sociological questionnaire. The only thing which has brought them together is that implacable universal equalizer—money. All of them are people with money. And this is not merely the notion of undereducated youths with little experience. Stereotypes of mass consciousness are operating here and, unfortunately, they are not too far from the actuality. It seemed particularly interesting to me that activity connected with trips abroad stood in the same rank as speculation—in the opinion of 17-year-olds, of course. The situation is more than understandable: who is closer than anyone to "brand name" articles? They are brought in "from over there" or bought "by hand."

When I was conducting the survey, I was touched by the combination of great experience and naivete of the 17-year-olds. They know a great deal and see still more, but their strictly mastered concepts of roles do not allow them to call things by their true names. Somewhere in the depths of boys' and girls' consciousness, there sits a "director" who gives orders: you must do this, you must not do this! In one questionnaire the question: "What would be your attitude toward the individual labor activity of your parents?" received a "double" response:

"Approval" (according to need), "Disapproval" (based on their own world view). Many of those questioned were naively cynical: I will get into the technical college because I have pull.

#### Sociological Information.

Where did they buy "brand-name" articles? Sixty-four methods of purchase were named. A store was listed in only 30 percent of the responses. Of those questioned, 40 percent indicated that they bought things "by hand," from black marketeers and speculators. The following response was often encountered: "They were imported." From where? From abroad, it turned out. Seven unknown persons wrote briefly and clearly: "through influence."

**G. Batygin.** It is obvious that we are witnesses to a definite shift in values between the generations, particularly with regard to labor and material prosperity.

**V. Yadov.** For more than 20 years we have observed shifts in the attitude toward labor of young workers of Leningrad. These shifts are very considerable. Public opinion in the 1960's condemned the striving for money and material well-being. It was considered bourgeois behavior, even if it was a question of remuneration for labor. For example, I recall an article in the journal ZVEZDA in 1962 which exposed the "blind fascination for covering one's body with as much beautiful clothing as possible." Today the life directions of young people, including 17-year-olds, are more rationalistic. They fully consciously count on material remuneration, and few of them are "going around in a fog." I think that this shift in the value orientations of young people could be progressive if the principle of payment for labor were not violated. As of now it is still not the result of labor which determines a person's income, but his status. As a result, young people do not demonstrate an interest in quality, intensive work.

**G. Batygin.** The most important question is: how to create opportunities for full-fledged labor by young people? We have approached this issue, but ways of resolving it are still not clear. Meanwhile, young people demand real changes, they demand action.

(A full report on the results of the survey may be read in the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in 1988.)

**Afterword by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA**  
**commentator Yuri Shchekochikhin**

These are the sort of results which our first sociological study has brought.

For some, possibly, they will be a confirmation of what has already long been known, pondered over, and been a source of pain. To some they will seem unexpected. Some will be distressed. Some will say: Ah! I told you so! A generation of idlers, speculators, and black marketeers is growing up!...

I am presenting the discordance of varying opinions which will come in the mail to the editorial office. But one thing seems to me unarguable: how little we still know! How much we need objective information!

Today, as always, young people are being talked about by everyone everywhere: from academic publications to the lines in stores, from the newspaper pages to the stages of the theater. Previously inconceivable information about the life of young people is pouring out virtually every day. The hopes and disappointments, "the source of all ills" and "sprouts into the future," "the children of glasnost" and "drug addicts," "the heroes of Afghanistan" and even "the betrayers of ideals." From respect to horror, from pretty lies to bitter truth.

But we must have the whole truth.

The study "Teen-agers and Money" is the first in a series of studies which will be carried out by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA jointly with the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.

This task is new to us, and so the opinion of readers will be important to us, opinions about both this first page and about different aspects of young people's lives which are in need of objective study today.

We will search out the truth, however unexpected it may turn out to be, in order to recognize in youth problems, as in a mirror, both the things which are still wrong with society, and the things which are new, which are inspiring hopes.

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#### UNESCO-sponsored Women's Rights Conference Held in Baku

18300081 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
8 Dec 87 p 3

[Azerinform article: "Equal Rights for Women"]

[Text] The emancipation of the representatives of the fairer half of mankind can certainly be considered one of the distinctive signs of the 20th century. Now, woman's struggle for equal rights which started from time immemorial has unfolded widely and in all places, producing real fruits. But as before, there are still many obstacles for women on the path to overcoming inequality. How can they be solved most effectively while keeping in mind local circumstances and borrowing from the experience of other countries? These questions are at the

center of attention of the participants of the international conference of experts on the examination of the social and cultural factors preventing the guarantee of equality and the implementation of the convention on the liquidation of all forms of discrimination against women which opened in Baku on 7 December in the Apsheron Hotel. The conference, in which representatives from more than 20 countries of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa are taking part, is being held under the aegis of UNESCO.

Opening the conference, the chairman of the Azerbaijan Trade Unions Council, L. Kh. Rasulova, welcomed the participants and told about the complex path of the women of the republic whose happy fate was defined by Great October. Memories about the hated yashmak which closed off the edges of the surrounding world to women have receded into the distant past. Today women participate with equal rights with men in the state government and actively show their abilities in industry, science, culture, and art. The state takes pains to alleviate woman's burden in fulfilling her main role of housewife and mother.

Tamzali Vasila, the representative of the UNESCO section on peace and human rights, speaking at the opening of the conference noted that the Soviet Union was the first country which signed the UN convention on the liquidation of discrimination against women. The USSR's experiences in these areas are a lesson for many states.

The participants of the conference, which will continue for 5 days, visited medical, social, and cultural facilities in Baku.

A concluding document based on the results of the discussion of a wide range of questions will be drawn up for wide circulation in UNESCO.

/06662

#### Mid-level Manager Training Criticized

18310425a [Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 30 September 1987 carries on page 1 a 900-word lead editorial headlined "Mid-level Cadres" on the effects of restructuring on specialized secondary and technical education. It notes that "along with successes achieved, inadequacies and shortcomings in the training of mid-level cadres are also apparent. For example, the fact that computer technology is being applied to the educational process in technical and specialized secondary schools too slowly is cause for serious concern. The leadership at some educational institutions, under the pretext of a lack of relevant instructional aids, is not searching for ways to eliminate the lag in this sector and is taking no active measures. The situation in this sector at specialized secondary schools in the Shaki-Zagatala, Lankaran and Karabagh zones is especially unsatisfactory."

/06662

#### Petition Urges Reopening Faculties at Institute

18310425b [Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 23 October 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,000-word plea signed by 10 professors, deans, and docents at the Kirovabad State Pedagogical Institute urging the reopening of faculties which have been closed; the plea appears under the heading "Glasnost: Problems and Observations." It concerns the end of admissions to the departments of Azeri language and literature, history, mathematics, and agriculture over the last 2 years and the "decision to close a number of the institute's faculties which have a cadre potential." They claim that "in our opinion, preventing the institute from preparing teachers runs counter to the CPSU Central Committee's policy of restructuring and acceleration. Undoubtedly, mistakes of the republic Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, the Ministry of Education, and AzSSR Gosplan are revealing themselves in this issue."

/06662

#### Stronger Punishment Demanded for Graverobbers

18310425c [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 18 October 1987 carries on page 4 a 300-word unsigned article headlined "The Punishment Should Be Stronger!" referring to the punishment prescribed by law for graverobbers, and in this specific case, for a ring of graverobbers who were stealing told teeth from corpses. The initial report on this case appeared in KOMMUNIST on 28 June 1987. It is noted that the writer of the June article "suggested that the punishment proposed for this crime under the AzSSR Criminal Code is extremely light. In letters sent by readers to the editors they have expressed complete agreement with the writer's opinion." This article points out that the investigation of the case has not yet been concluded.

/06662

#### Lack of Opportunity Causes Migration From Village

18310425d [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 24 October 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Tahir Mammadov under the rubric "Social Concerns of the Village" examining the situation in the village of Ilisu, which has lost half its population in the last 20 years. He points out that "the migration did not happen all of a sudden, it occurred drop by drop and finally created a problem. Demands of the village inhabitants, especially the younger families, were ignored, and no thought was given to attracting them into work which matched their specialties, skills, or abilities." As a consequence, "because the wishes of those wanting to build homes were not implemented and because of a lack of interest, dozens of young families abandoned their own land and flowed into the large cities."

/06662

### Shortcomings Noted in Rural Cultural Facilities

18310425c [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 October 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial highlighting the importance of village clubs. The editorial is headlined "Village Clubs." It points out that "the restructuring process in the sector of village culture in a number of rayons is proceeding too slowly. No positive changes in the content and methods of cultural-educational work are felt. For many years no effective measures have been taken to eliminate ingrained apathy and carelessness. Most of the village clubs in Yevlakh, Shaumyan (village), Gubadly, Lachyn, and Shamkhor Rayons operate unsatisfactorily and their influence among the population is weak. Party and Soviet organizations in these rayons often close their eyes to the serious shortcomings in cultural-educational work which is an important sector of ideological activity."

/06662

### TUSSR: Better Analysis of Reasons for Drug Addiction Proposed

18350407a [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 3 September 1987 carries on page 3 a 1300-word article by D. Chorov headlined "The Way to a Good Life: Special treatment for Opium Addicts Operating in Buzmein" highlighting the work and success of the Ashkhabad Oblast Narcotics Clinic in Buzmein, which has been operation for "more than a year." After a number of interviews with physicians and patients, the author notes that "we know that drug addiction does not spread by itself. Narcotics users meet each other and, were we to say that they attract other people into their orbit, we would not be wrong. Some foolish people are trapped in their web. Then, it is too late. In the great struggle to put an end to drug addiction, it would be well to pay more attention to this aspect of the question."

/12913

### TUSSR: Deeper Analysis of Drug-Related Crime Demanded

18350407b [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 11 September 1987 carries on page 3 a 1400-word article by G. Saryyeva, graduate student in the Philosophy and Law Department of the TUSSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "We Must Struggle Relentlessly Against Drug Abuse" on shortcomings in the current campaign against narcotics. She points out that "there is an inadequate amount of significant action and goal orientation in the struggle conducted against narcotics" and adds that "internal affairs organs are apathetic in exposing people involved in the preparation, location or distribution of narcotic substances. There are also shortcomings in the work of procuracy, justice, and court organs in this matter. When these organs look into criminal activities

connected with narcotics, in certain cases they do not deeply study the reasons behind the commission of the crime, and the conditions or situation which led up to the commission of the crime."

/12913

### Exemplary Teacher Tried as Drug Dealer in Turkmenia

18350407c [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 23 September 1987 carries on page 4 a 1400-word article by R. Argashov, peoples' judge, and A. Bagyyev headlined "An 'Unknown' Person Whom Everyone Knows" on the arrest of a Turkmen language teacher with an exemplary record in education for selling Goknar [an opium derivative]. At the time of his arrest he was in possession of 18 kilograms of the substance. When asked in the courtroom whether he taught his students about the dangers of narcotics, he answered yes, but claimed that he though goknar was a medicine. The situation is partially blamed on the inactivity of the school's temperance society and the apathy of the school administration.

/12913

### Tagtabazar Anti-Drug Campaign Assailed

18350407d [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 25 September 1987 carries on page 4 a 600-word article by A. Annakhanov headlined "We Must Fight Relentlessly" on shortcomings in the campaign against narcotics in Tagtabazar Rayon in Turkmenia. "The work on those accused of narcotics use has been investigated superficially by law enforcement organs. In most cases, dealers in narcotic substances have not been apprehended. Some criminal acts remain 'unsolved crimes.' Some workers and leaders of the internal affairs department of the rayon Soviet of Peoples' Deputies have been removed from their duties for not taking the necessary measures against narcotics and for closing certain cases." Numerous instances of the cultivation of opium and cannabis on private plots in the rayon are enumerated.

/12913

### Turkmen School Curriculum to Discuss 'Soviet Reality'

18350407e [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 27 September 1987 carries on page 1 a 1200-word lead editorial headlined "Soviet Reality in the Classroom" on the changing content of school curricula during the period of restructuring. It points out that "Soviet reality must be clearly explained in all courses in the school curriculum and in the process of all work done inside and outside of the classroom. Along with this, broad propaganda work must be conducted among the students on decrees of

party and government on strengthening the struggle against harmful habits such as alcoholism, smoking, narcotics addiction, easy living, waste, fraud, and irresponsibility which are alien to the Soviet way of life."

/12913

### Better Approach to Teaching of Turkmen Urged

18350407f [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 September 1987 carries on page 3 a 900-word article by Yu. Ballyyev, Turkmen language and literature instructor at the No 10 secondary school in Gavers Rayon, on the search for a new methodology in the teaching of Turkmen; the article is headlined "Legitimate Demands of the Time." The author complains that there has been virtually no innovation in the teaching of Turkmen for some years and points out that "if an exchange of ideas between advanced teachers and methodologists were to be arranged, it is possible that new ideas would emerge. TURKMENISTANYNG KHALK MAGARYFY [Peoples Education of Turkmenistan] and MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI [Teachers Journal] should devote space to printing serious articles touching on this question and discussions on actual questions in teaching should be organized by their editors."

/12913

### Shortages of Teachers, Materials Impede Russian Teaching in TUSSR

18350407g [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 18 September 1987 carries on page 3 a 1400-word article by Sh. Begov, Russian teacher at the No 7 secondary school in Korov Rayon and chairman of the Russian language department of the rayon methodological organization, headlined "Problems in Teaching Russian." Begov points out that "the shortage of Russian language teachers in rural schools is one of the major obstacles in our work. Not one of the schools in our rayon is fully staffed with Russian teachers." In addition, "there are no didactic materials for schools teaching in Turkmen." Equally important is the fact that "there is a shortage of Russian language textbooks, and existing books are in bad shape."

/12913

### Close Supervision of New Teachers Urged in Turkmenia

18350407h [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 9 September 1987 carries on page 1 an 1100-word lead editorial headlined "As Young Cadres Came to the School" timed to the start of the new school year. "It is known to everyone that all the expertise and habits of the teaching profession cannot be taught to a future specialist at a

teachers' college. While cadres of the future have learned the techniques and methods of teaching students in theory, they still lack sufficient practice. Thus, it would be to the point if the more experienced pedagogues were to give friendly advice when the young specialist comes on the job." The editorial adds that the role of the probationary commission for young specialists is extremely important in this regard.

/12913

### Second Volume of Russian-Turkmen Dictionary Appears

18350407i [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 18 September 1987 carries on page 4 a 500-word article by S. Anna-berdiyeva, scientific worker at the Magtymguly Institute of Language and Literature of the TUSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "The Second Volume of the Dictionary" on the publication of volume two of the "Great Russian-Turkmen Dictionary." "The content and structure of the dictionary are defined by its perceived functions, which are reading both the modern and the classical Russian literary language, and demonstrating that part of the Russian literary language used widely in the 19th century." The work contains approximately 77,000 entries.

/12913

### New Russian-Turkmen Dictionary Praised

18350407j [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 25 September 1987 carries on page 2 a 2100-word review by T. Tachmyradov, director of the modern Turkmen language sector of the Magtymguly Institute of Language and Literature of the TUSSR Academy of Sciences, of the Russian-Turkmen Dictionary by R. Berdiyev and I.V. Shikina. The dictionary is to be used in grades 5 through 7 and was printed in an edition of 45,000 copies. The reviewer points out that "in our days the learning of Russian along with the mother tongue, and the mastery of its norms by students in Turkmen-language schools, is an important issue. Evaluated from this point of view, this dictionary is very important." The hope is expressed that the work will be used on a "daily basis" not only by students but also by the "broad reading masses."

/12913

### Georgian Orphanages Lack Staffing, Proper Conditions, Meat

18130413 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KALI [Georgian Woman] in Georgian No 9, September 1987 carries on pages 8-9 Marine Vashakmadze's 1,600-word article, titled "Goodness at the Front Gate and in the Yard," sketching some of the numerous problems that plague Georgian orphanages (children's homes),

especially those accommodating babies to the age of 3 years, of which there are only three in the entire republic. These problems "can be discussed openly these days." and the author has decided to raise her voice in an urgent call for action—in the face of officials who have, seemingly, thrown up their hands in despair.

In particular, the Tbilisi orphanage on Nutsubidze Street has to make do with just one nurse [kormilitsa] and one attendant [vospitatelnitsa] for every 14 babies. The women are hard-pressed to feed the babies 5 times a day, keep them changed, and so on (consider an ordinary mother with just one or two children!), and since the pay and the working conditions are inadequate, nurses are hard to find. For another thing, orphanages have trouble obtaining fresh meat.

Whatever the difficulties, these problems must be solved! Georgian orphanages need to be placed "on special status" with special rights and privileges as well as special pay and other material incentives for the workers. If that is done, you can be sure applicants will be waiting in long lines for jobs there, and only the best will be selected. Is any fresh meat to be had in Georgia? But of course it is, witness the lavish banquets people are always throwing. And it should be given right to the orphanages. The matter of "sponsoring organizations" [shefstvo] is also discussed.

Another major thrust of the article is the changed social context of Georgian orphanages and their wards in recent years. At one time, the children were true orphans—children who had lost their parents in the war, for example. Now, most of these children actually still have one or both parents living, but were "turned over to the state to be brought up." Sometimes the parents' reasons are valid: economic privation, for example, or poor living conditions, or sickness. In too many cases, however, the motives are not justified (though none are explicitly stated here). One baby was left in the courtyard of a Tbilisi orphanage, but many are abandoned in the streets and "in places it is embarrassing to mention."

Paradoxically, there are so many loving and caring people who want to adopt babies that the demand "cannot be entirely met within Georgia." One snag, however, is that a children's home inmate who has a living parent or parents cannot be adopted without considerable legal procedures and complications which tend to drag on and on. The author believes that the regulations should be changed, so that a mother, say, who does not visit her child in a year's time may be declared unfit and forced to give up her maternal rights.

### Measures Mapped To Halt Drug Flow Into Georgia

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 3 September 1987 carries on page 1 under the title "Komsomol's Two-Month Drive Starts at the Mleta Checkpoint" a 1,000-word article by

Dusheti Komsomol Raykom First Secretary Koba Buchukuri concerning the measures that have been mapped out to halt the flow of drugs into Georgia from the North Caucasus via the Military Highway. The timeliness of the effort within the context of the two-month drive lies in the fact that the September-October period is the time when carriers of "the white death" bring "the harvest" of narcotic plants into Georgia to peddle at exorbitant prices. Hence, efforts must be redoubled, and it all starts at the Mleta Checkpoint.

This year, the rayon is divided into 10 operational zones rather than three as in past years. Each zonal headquarters included MVD, Komsomol, and Pioneer components. Much of the focus is on catching users, in light of the rayon MVD chief's statement that Dusheti Rayon has not registered a single one, but there is also a great emphasis on sports and other wholesome activities, lectures in schools and other youth venues, and the like. Young people will be informed of every case in which dealers or users have been caught, and the punishments they have received. The two or three that are cited specifically here involve opium or hashish, and punishments range up to 2.5 years.

### Georgian Anti-Narcotics Chief Outlines Problems, Proposals

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 3 September 1987 carries on page 2 under the title "A United Front Against Narcotics!" a 2,300-word article by Dzhemal Dzhanashia, chief of the Anti-Narcotics Department of the MVD's Criminal Investigation Administration, concerning the causes of the ineffectiveness of anti-narcotic efforts in the republic and outlining a number of proposals to remedy the situation. A few statistics are given and particular episodes are recounted illustrating the gravity of the problem. The article is presented in the context of the Komsomol's two-month anti-narcotic drive, and the author's overall assessment is drawn from materials discussed at the 28 August joint meeting of MVD and Health Ministry officials. Throughout, Dzhanashia makes meticulous distinction between narcotics users and addicts, though all are defined as registered [na uchete].

Between 1980 and 1986, total users and addicts rose by 34.5 percent, with the proportion of addicts totaling 11.6. Statistics (not given) show that drug-related crimes have risen sharply, that the overall contingent is growing younger and includes more females, and the plague has even spread to the villages. The worst regions are Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Batumi, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, Poti, Khashuri, and Marneuli. Efforts to place addicts and users in jobs and keep them there have been very disappointing, mainly because MVD and social organizations fail to maintain monitoring and follow-up. The recidivism rate has been high among persons discharged from the Sagaredzho treatment facility and, especially, convicts released from

incarceration. A shortcoming that is emphasized over and over is the lack of coordination between MVD and Health Ministry bodies, in particular the narcology services.

The author reserves special criticism for the results of the "voluntary treatment" program, which after keeping some addicts and users on the rolls for years has accomplished practically nothing. Moreover, he scoffs at certain "humanitarian" medical people who plead that "addicts and users are sick and need treatment" yet avoid forcing them to get it. Figures are cited or alluded to indicating that very few are committed to the Sagaredzho facility despite the steady rise in narcotics use all over the republic.

Dzhanashia makes a number of proposals: Open narcology centers in all the republic's VUZes on the example of those now functioning in Tbilisi State University and the Polytechnic Institute, with full staffs and the power to conduct raids. Create operational headquarters in all the rayons, with MVD, Health Ministry, and Komsomol components. Review the individual cases of all registered addicts and users in order to bring MVD and Health Ministry data into line with each other and with the actual situation. Expedite medical examination of all users and addicts registered prior to 1982 and send all who have refused voluntary treatment to the Sagaredzho facility. Assign to each addict an active Komsomol representative who will collaborate with employers and other agencies in monitoring the subject on the job and elsewhere. Do research on the activities of discharges from the Sagaredzho facility and the correctional-labor system to determine the effectiveness, if any, of anti-narcotic efforts.

#### **Georgian Dope Addicts 'Enriching Outsiders'**

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 5 September 1987 carries on page 2 under the title "Money Thrown Away on Poison" a 700-word piece by Vakhtang Nadiradze and Zaza Gomartely, who are affiliated with the newspaper MEBRDZOLI GUSHAGI [Fighting Sentinel], deplored the incredible amounts of money spent by young Georgian addicts on narcotics. An accompanying photo shows bills and valuables worth more than 46,000 rubles confiscated from a middle-aged woman pusher named Eter Yeremyan. Without downplaying the moral and social tragedy this commerce represents, the author makes explicit disparaging reference to the sort of "outsiders" who are bringing the stuff in: People names "Sul," "Nariman," "Zahir" and "Zelinkhan" [patently non-Georgian names redolent of Central Asia or the Moslem world]. "Think," the authors plead with their fellow Georgians, "whom you are enriching with your money."

The article includes some information on what appear to be "standard" prices set by "the market" rather than by any collusion among suppliers. Two noxirone pills and 10 cough pills go for 50 rubles, for example, and half a gram of opium—a "check"—goes for the same.

#### **Murders on Rise in Tbilisi; Action Urged**

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 8 September 1987 carries on page 2 under the title "The Ailment Can No Longer Be Hidden—We Must Do something!" a 900-word appeal signed by 9 prominent persons of the arts, sciences, scholarship, the field of health, and so on concerning the alarming rise in murders in Tbilisi and calling for strong measures to eradicate this "supreme social evil." The piece is reprinted from the 4 September edition of TBILISI, the capital city's afternoon newspaper, and has a 300-word KOMUNISTI editorial postscript appended to it.

In particular, some two dozen murders were committed in the first 8 months of 1987. This increase, the signers of the appeal emphasize more than once, goes hand in hand with other key social evils whose pervasiveness has been ignored or downplayed too long. "Something has cracked, broken down, become warped in our social life... and we are all responsible." We have always claimed we had "a good, healthy nucleus," but "like weeds... dopers, drunks, whores and other declasse elements" have spread the sickness to healthy segments of society. All kinds of people are roaming the city armed with knives and other weapons. These drugs must be detected, exposed, and "cut out" of society in order to "save our youth" from prostitution, dope, and murder.

In their editorial postscript, KOMUNISTI's editors praise TBILISI for publishing this urgent appeal, note that the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee "warned us" against underestimating such evils as drugs, and call upon all citizens to "close together like a fist and smash in the face" of the evildoers.

#### **Georgian Lab's Research Into Drugs, Prostitution Sketched**

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 8 September 1987 carries on pages 1 and 4 Marine Vashakmadze's 3,400-word article titled "In Search of a Lost Smile, Or, The Broken Bridge Problem From an Entirely Different Perspective," which examines the increasingly alarming problems of drugs and prostitution in the republic. The article is built around a case in which a combined MVD-Komsomol raid in late August in Tbilisi's Lenin Rayon caught two men and two women smoking hashish in a "den" [pri-ton] where they convened regularly to prepare and use the stuff and "lead an immoral life." The bulk of the article consists of a hard look at and searching questions about Georgia's deteriorating moral state—it now leads the USSR in VD—and the root causes of the problem.

Alternating segments are citations from individual case histories of the four dissolutes. The men, Faizo Kasoyan and Alikhan Knoyev, are unemployed and have a history of antisocial or criminal behavior from school days on. The women, cousins Khatuna and Lia Saralidze, arrived at their present state by separate but similar paths, each

having been kicked out of school in Borzhomi and assigned to trade schools in Tbilisi. In addition, Khatuna had to be sent to a correctional school in Pokrovskiy, Vladimir Oblast, but on her release she still failed to hold onto jobs and wound up, like her cousin, living unregistered and unemployed in Tbilisi.

A substantial section of the article recounts an interview between Khatuna Saralidze and Anzor Gabiani, the by now well-known Georgian sociologist who heads the Tbilisi Scientific-Research Laboratory of the USSR MVD's Moscow Higher Militia School. Gabiani's laboratory, now 10 years old, was doing solid sociological research into narcotics and prostitution long before most people were even willing to admit that such problems existed, but it suffered from frequent name and jurisdictional changes. If we had paid attention to the lab's findings and recommendations years ago, the author states, we would be much better off now.

Khatuna Saralidze was abandoned as an infant by her mother and adopted by an unmarried schoolteacher. According to Khatuna, there are a great many such children in Borzhomi Rayon, whose mothers "actually sell them." Anzor Gabiani notes that "the law makes no distinction between adopted and natural children," but acknowledges regretfully that society at large is both crude and cruel to such children, labeling them "bastards" and "illegitimate." In his opinion, it is time to rid the language of these damaging epithets. The implication is that this attitude to a large extent accounts for the social deterioration of people like Khatuna. Gabiani says that a high percentage of the women he interviews were abandoned and adopted in early childhood. Khatuna hates her home district and will never go back. In fact, the happiest she has been was in the correctional training facility in Pokrovskiy. In an aside, she states that her reputation in Borzhomi was such that whenever she had occasion to go to the militia they would just throw her in jail for 10 days.

The subject turns to the question of sex education, the lack of which in large part accounts for so much of young people's confusion and troubles. Although the subject "Family Life Ethics and Psychology" has been introduced in the secondary schools, it is far from satisfactory. For one thing, there are practically no specialized teachers for it, and no VUZ course exists to train them. As a result, most school instructors of the subject are merely assigned to the task with no qualifications. In the author's opinion, moreover, the subject should be taught in separate classes for boys and girls, with men teaching boys and women teaching girls. In any case, it is dangerous for youngsters to pick it up from "forbidden literature and video cassettes."

#### **KOMUNISTI Readers Defend Anonymous Letter Writers**

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 13 September 1987 carries on page 2 under the recent rubric "Letters to KOMUNISTI" a 400-word letter

(signed only "Honest Citizens") titled "'Combat' or 'Completely Destroy?'" in response to an earlier letter to the editors demanding that anonymous letters be ignored altogether in order to do away with the persistent practice. The author of the earlier letter, after condemning the cowardly anonymists who indulge in such things, signed himself only as "An Honest Man."

The "honest citizens" of the present letter are offended by the explicit "insult" to the integrity of those citizens who feel they must write such letters but are afraid to sign their names. For one thing, it is "a fact" that the claims made in most anonymous letters prove to be true. For another, we have not yet "created the kind of atmosphere" in which a man may feel free, in all cases, to speak the truth, lest he suffer reprisals "from those more powerful than he." Create such an atmosphere, say the authors of this letter, "and then we'll see."

#### **Roots of Georgian Prostitution in General Immorality**

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 20 September 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "The Roots of Evil" Valeri Kadzhaia's 1,700-word article examining the problem of prostitution, widespread but erroneous attitudes toward it, and the pervasive hypocrisy, falsity, greed—in short, social immorality—that foster it. Reference is made to a 13 September TV special on the problem, which evoked a storm of wrathful response, and to republic leaders' recent public statements that Georgia, which has enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for leadership in spiritual values, the arts, and sports, now unfortunately ranks near the top in VD: three times the all-union rate—and even that figure is probably underreported.

The author sketches the history of "this oldest profession" from Sodom and Gomorrah, Imperial Rome, through the Middle Ages to our own day, and provides brief, vivid descriptions of the kinds of draconian laws and barbaric punishments which societies have imposed on prostitutes in an attempt to do away with the evil. Indeed, many Georgians, after seeing the TV special, thought that such measures should be imposed now—even death. Yet, paradoxically, prostitution has flourished in times of severest repression. And in more humane times, it was confidently predicted in the 1930's that once unemployment was conquered and education and the good life made available to all, prostitution would disappear too. But that has not happened either.

The real root causes are to be sought in a more general breakdown of public and private morality: corruption, duplicity, the widening gap between word and deed, pervasive striving for gain without labor. And all who practice these evils or go along with them are, in effect, fostering the disease of prostitution and the diseases it spreads—syphilis, gonorrhea, and the still under-perceived horror of AIDS.

A substantial segment of the article invites a close re-examination of customary social attitudes toward the problem, namely as reflected in recent TV and press coverage of prostitution. Praiseworthy as the media's efforts are, almost all the focus—and blame—has been upon the prostitutes themselves, even going so far as to print their names and addresses ("might as well hang a sign on their door"). Yes, these slatternly, not-very-bright, immoral women have been selling their bodies—but who has been buying them, after all (and for up to 100 rubles for a half-hour's "pleasure")? One prostitute on TV was compelled to admit having entertained two

men in a hotel room; but what were their names? Statistics show that prostitutes become infected with VD about two to three years into their profession. From whom? Not from other prostitutes.

The article ends with a plea to all "mothers, sisters, and wives" to "liberate your husbands, brothers, and sons" from these evils by refusing to go along with immorality and greed.

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**Economist Welcomes Public Discussion of Price Increases**

*18300060a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
*20 Nov 87 p 2*

[Article by S. Sukiasyan, economist: "Revisions are Necessary"]

[Text] I am happy for the fact that our paper at last has held a discussion on price)setting policy. For many years this topic has been considered prohibited. People were simply presented with the fact that the prices for various goods and services had been raised. Such an approach, naturally, engendered all kinds of rumors. People made judgments and bargained and could only make guesses without having information about why prices had been raised and who was to blame. That is why I consider that price-setting policy there should be no secrets. If prices have been raised on vegetables, is it necessary to explain the reason to people? Perhaps output quality has improved? I myself, being an economist, still do not understand Gosagroprom's policy in this regard. Particularly in this matter. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have now been given the right to trade surpluses on the market. This was done with a view to bringing down market prices. Nothing good came of this for the buyer. As a rule, the farms sold their output from the side of a vehicle right next to the markets. I approach the Bagramyanskiy, Artashatskiy and Oktembergianskiy rayon trucks. They are all loaded with watermelons. The price is 50 kopecks. There is no right to choose. You want something, take it, if not, good riddance. Alongside, the private traders' watermelons also cost 50 kopecks. Choose anyone. They will cut it any way you want. The private traders have many grapes, and with some good bargaining they can be bought for 1 ruble. The kolkhoz price is just as much. Tomatoes at the market are 50-60 kopecks, the kolkhoz sells them for 40.

I will not list all the prices. They are well known to all who hurry about a market and get a breakdown from the high prices, rush to state commerce counters, go with hope to the trucks that have come from the farms, and, as a result leave, almost without having bought anything. But indeed it should not be like that. I have estimated that if a contract brigade raised 20 tons of watermelons and sold them at the state price (15 kopecks for a kilogram) it would bring 3,000 rubles into the kolkhoz's coffers. Pay is computed from the final realization of these 20 tons. But if the brigade sells the watermelons for 50-60 kopecks, the earnings from the 20 tons will be 10,000 rubles. Three thousand will go into the kolkhoz cash box, 7,000 into the pockets of the brigade, plus the wages from the kolkhoz. Only the brigade wins, but indeed everything was planned that way, in order to reduce market prices. And why was it necessary at all to create a contract, for which the kolkhoz, in the invoice, superimposed on the commodity state prices if everything is decided at the brigade-leader level? If Gosagroprom actually wanted to reduce prices at the market, it should have thought thoroughly about how to do this.

Incidentally, it would be good to think also about how many transport resources are idle before the vehicles carry the goods to market. It is not enough that this is very unappealing and unhygienic, and moreover, wasteful. Many years ago the farms had their own stores in the city and traded there the whole season. They had less technical equipment then, but the quality was good and the prices were lower. I realize that time introduces many changes of its own. The main thing is that they be justified and substantiated.

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**Yerevan Gorkom Officials Review Perestroyka Progress**

*18300060b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
*19 Nov 87 p 2*

[Armenpress article: "Perestroyka Requires Activeness and Dynamism"]

[Text] The plenum of the Yerevan gorkom of the Armenian CP

A plenum of the Yerevan city committee of the Armenian CP convened 17 November. It discussed the report of the buro of the Yerevan gorkom of the Armenian CP about the work performed on the guidance of perestroyka.

First Secretary of the Yerevan gorkom of the Armenian CP L. Saakyan delivered the report at the plenum.

In evaluating the work that had been done during the period, Comrade L. Saakyan noted that the gorkom buro and the raykom of the party are striving, from the standpoint of greater exactingness, to evaluate the first steps of perestroyka and to improve the moral and psychological climate in a number of the city's collectives. The processes of democratization and glasnost are invading daily life more actively, criticism and self-criticism have been made more active, and the practice of electing supervisors has been expanded. City gorkom members have begun to take part more actively in working out collective decisions and in discussing questions at buro meetings and in monitoring their execution.

At the same time, the activity of the Yerevan city committee of the Armenian CP still did not meet fully the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenums. In the city we are not developing perestroyka as energetically as the party decrees require, and the required changes are still occurring slowly. This concerns the economic sphere, ideology, the work of soviet and managerial organs, and the life and activity of working collectives. The party's gorkom buro still has not managed to see to it that all the tasks that have been posed are accomplished fully and on time in order that the proper level of discipline and state of organization may be

provided for in all sections and all primary party organizations, that the proper level of discipline and state of organization may be provided for. Therefore, at this stage of perestroika it is very important to make note of and to support everything that is positive.

In the new environment, life itself requires a radical restructuring of the activity of the party's raykoms.

In Leninskiy Rayon the party organization is putting into practice in working collectives the report of the party's raykom buro about implementation of 27th CPSU Congress decisions. Party organizations of Orzhonikidzevskiy and Masnikiyanskiy rayons are discussing the reports of the members of elective party organs about the participation of each of the organs in perestroika. In Sovetskiy Rayon, having made glasnost and democracy a necessary prerequisite in personnel work, conditions are being created for as many members of the collective as possible to express their opinion on the solution of personnel questions.

However, examples of another kind are being encountered.

There are defects in planning the work of the raykom of the Rayon imeni 26 Komissarov. In the last year and a half, the buro of the Sovetskiy Rayon party raykom touched in seven adopted decrees on various problems of the activity of the PO [Production Association] Tekhnostastka, but not one of them was discussed in the primary party organization.

In June of this year the buro of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy party raykom adopted a resolution, "Gross Violations of Party, State and Operating Discipline in the PO Gidroprivod." Not having established proper monitoring over fulfillment of the first resolution, the party raykom was compelled again to go back to the given circumstance and give it a strict evaluation.

All of us should take lessons from this, said the speaker. This concerns the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and, above all, Comrade A. Topuzyan, who is personally answerable for the conduct of this work. This is a shortcoming also of L. Saakyan, first secretary of the gorkom.

These are the pivotal elements of all perestroika—democracy and an expansion of glasnost. The party gorkom buro considers that this process is still not going on in a simple manner at all. It must be said frankly also that personal criticism of the buro's secretaries or members and other supervisors is heard extremely rarely from the rostrum of the plenums of party gorkoms and raykoms, especially those of Shaumianskiy, Myasnikyanskiy, Mashtotsskiy and Sovetskiy rayons.

The fact that it still has not been possible to create a unified front in the struggle for creating a healthier moral and ethical atmosphere in the city, and the fact that the struggle with negative phenomena often is conducted in campaign style on a case-to-case basis causes special concern.

The report took special note of the first-priority tasks of party organizations in solving social problems of the republic's capital. It was noted that realization of the program decrees of the 27th Party Congress on providing a separate apartment for each family by the year 2000 has become a subject of constant attention and monitoring.

Perestroika is lagging in the activity of the ispolkoms of rayon soviets and the housing and municipal activities subordinate to them.

The state of affairs in the sphere of serving the population and unreceptivity to the changes that are occurring provoke the serious anxiety of society and the workers. There are oversights here in the selection and assignment of supervisors, as in the case of middle-echelon personnel, and no small amount of guilt lies with the trade sections of the party's gorkom and raykoms.

A radical restructuring of the work style of local soviets and of their ispolkoms, services and subunits is necessary. Chairman of the Yegorispolkom [Yerevan City Ispolkom] Comrade E. Avakyan should evaluate more self-critically the results of their work and show a greater devotion to principles.

It has been noted that the party gorkom buro still has not managed to direct properly the activity of the law-enforcement organs.

The gorkom, department manager Comrade T. Grigoryan, party raykoms, and the management of administrative organs have not entirely overcome distortions in personnel policy.

In conclusion, Comrade L. Saakyan, in the name of the party gorkom buro, called upon all plenum participants to show good examples during perestroika and to display persistence in implementing the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Debate developed on the report.

V. Turyan, First Secretary of Sovetskiy Raykom of the Armenian CP, said in his address that the criterion for evaluating the party committees' perestroika work, as was indicated in the corresponding decree of the CPSU Central Committee on rendering reports, can be nothing less than a real advance toward the best and tangible results in the economic, social and spiritual spheres. In this connection, in both our rayon and in the city, much remains to be done in order to prepare for conversion to new management methods. The economic standards that

were lowered for some enterprises, as was explained at the time that meetings of raykom members at working collectives had been put into practice, do not always fulfill the principles of self-financing and does not provide the necessary conditions for working and for protecting the environment.

In speaking about organizing reports of gorkom buro members in laboring collectives and other means for developing glasnost, the brigade leader of the Production Association Elektropribor E. Arutyunyan said that, in evaluating what had been done in accordance with the final results, it became clear that perestroyka still has not enveloped all the primary party organizations, and the party gorkom still has not moved the center of gravity of its work there. Perestroyka still has not become the target for each primary organization, it is not every communist who recognizes his role in the process of revolutionary transformations and democracy, and glasnost has not been converted yet into a moving force for social and economic development.

A. Topuzyan, Second Secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom of the Armenian CP, spoke about animating the work of the elected party activists—of members and candidates members of the gorkom. It called the attention of the gorkom to the necessity for discussing controversial questions which are of great importance for social and economic development. This will enable the examination of minor questions of a local nature, which is the business of the appropriate organs, to be dispensed with.

Chairman of the Yerevan City Committee for People's Control S. Tumanyan dwelt on the first steps of people's control in the matter of perestroyka and of the tasks for intensifying this work. She called for a strengthening of the assistance of party organizations to the people's control organs.

The Chairman of the Inspection Commission of the Yerevan City Organization of the Armenian CP, S. Meliksetyan, devoted his address to a rise in the role of rayon and city party organizations in intensifying the responsibility of the capital's communists in light of the demands of perestroyka. He noted in particular that in the overwhelming majority of the capital's party organizations proper attention is not being paid to an examination of the requests and complaints of worker collectives and of citizens. Solution of the questions that worry people locally, he said, will promote a substantial reduction in the number of requests sent to higher organs.

Perestroyka is proceeding slowly also in Komsomol work. The causes are many. One of them is the fact that the supervisors of both economic and party organizations are not interested enough in the life of youth. First Secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom of the Armenian LKSM, G. Israyelyan spoke about this in his address.

Those who spoke at the plenum touched on numerous economic and social questions which require rapid solution and on urgent problems of developing industry and municipal services. It was pointed out that today, the workers of Yerevan and its residents are dissatisfied with the work on shopping, public transportation and medical institutions, while questions of improving living conditions and the supply of water and heat especially disturb them. Secretary of the partkom of the Production Association Luys V. Dashyan, general director of the Production Association Zakavkazkabel G. Badayan, and others dwelt on this in their addresses.

It was noted at the plenum that the gorkom buros, raykoms, and primary party organizations still are not displaying the necessary persistence and exactingness in solving social problems and in eliminating the deficiencies that exist in this oblast that seriously disturb society. The activity of party committees and primary party organizations also in the area of ideological and mass political work has not been fully restructured, and it is in need of improvement and a strengthening of its ties with life. Proper attention is not being paid to restructuring the consciousness of workers and to imbuing them with the new thinking. Restructuring of the activity of the soviets is going on without the requisite activeness and dynamism, and, as before, the soviets are not concerned enough about problems of improving the social and domestic conditions of the populace, and cases of formalism and bureaucratism in their work have not been eradicated.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party K. Demirchyan took part in the work of and addressed the plenum of the party gorkom.

V. Gerasimenko, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

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#### Arguments Against Caucasus Railroad Project Rebutted

18130414 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 10 September 1987 carries on page 2 a 4,500-word letter signed by "a number of Tbilisi State University students" protesting the Caucasus Mountain Railroad project on numerous economic, ecological, archeological, cultural, and ethnic-demographic counts. The title of the piece, "'Fear the Friend Who Is a Foe,'" is a literary allusion supplied by the editors, who characterize the letter as radically different from most other students commentary on the subject and hence deserving of lengthy and considered rebuttal, which they proceed to present in a 9,700-word "postscript" [pripiska] on pages 2-4.

The students (purposely not named by the editors) hail the extensive public polemic in all the media against the project that was launched last spring in LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO but note sadly that as time wore on, published arguments grew increasingly slanted in favor of the project and unscientifically formulated. Thanks to help from the Tbilisi State University Rectorate and the Women's Council, the students got hold of a lot of information from various institutes, the minutes of important meetings, and other materials from which they quote to bolster their arguments.

A major thrust of their arguments is that, by the testimony of many of the project's authors and proponents themselves, a great many questions of crucial importance have not yet been satisfactorily resolved and require much more study. These include the dangerous nature and behavior of natural gasses that may be encountered in building the 23-kilometer Arkhoti Tunnel, the fact that most of the route lies in seismic zones 6-8, geothermal waters and geological factors generally, and other scientific and technical considerations casting doubt on the wisdom and feasibility of the tunnel in light of the "low level" of Soviet tunneling experience generally, witness the Severomuysk Tunnel on the Baykal-Amur Mainline [BAM]. These factors and considerations have been "ignored," and the students even accuse Kavgiprotrans officials of deliberately misleading the public about them.

The editors reply that the students have misread or even distorted the documents they quote from, and their conclusions are therefore "shallow" and their style of argumentation "demagogic and infantile." The issues they raise were thoroughly examined by the blue-ribbon Public Consultative Council and explained publicly. Throughout their rebuttal, the editors quote whole passages from the protest letter, including those purported to rest on the statements of authoritative specialists, and proceed to demonstrate the erroneousness of the students' conclusions. In any case, the one-year "moratorium" on further construction that was announced in late August provides plenty of time for further study and public input.

Another main thrust of the protest letter concerns worries about the profound ecological damage that is sure to result from construction of the project—concerns that the planners and builders have ignored. Forests and other vegetation will be destroyed, wildlife will be severely disrupted, and so on. Moreover, the already fragile Aragvi River that supplies so much of the drinking water for Tbilisi and its environs (with a 1.5-million population) will become even more heavily polluted from sewage generated by the project's construction and eventual infrastructure. The editors rebut most of these objections, conceding that in any major undertaking of this sort there is bound to be some ecological damage which, however, can be kept to a minimum. The issue of sewage in the Aragvi is a valid and serious worry, to be sure, one which has yet to be adequately dealt with. But

the railroad project plans include definite funding for effective treatment plants to take care of present and future requirements, and will thus improve the situation rather than aggravating it.

The protest letter advances a number of arguments, some of them going back decades, against the proponents' claims of economic benefits such as enhanced and streamlined freight haulage and passenger service, reduced mileage and other costs, increased and cheaper imports of essential raw materials into Georgia, and the like. Moreover, the students claim that essential local rail segments such as bypass lines around Tbilisi are not even in the planning stage—hence, greater congestion and its dire consequences are another threat. The editors counter all these arguments with their own authoritative data, noting in addition that it is only realistic for certain details of any major project like this—for example, bypass lines—to be dealt with after the main segments are in place.

In rebuttal to the students' alarms about irretrievable damage to archeological and cultural monuments, the editors point out that the project includes large amounts of earmarked funds for the study and safeguarding of such objects, and planners have already had to modify original blueprints to accommodate or bypass certain ones. Moreover, construction activities already undertaken on this project, as in other recent projects around the republic, have actually brought to light valuable archeological sites that would have remained buried and unknown if it were not for these activities.

The final major thrust of the protest letter concerns what project proponents have called "demographic benefits," namely the revitalization and repopulation of the region through which the railroad is to be built. The students warn that the "ethnic ways" and ancient traditions of the remaining 2,500 Pshavs and Khevsurs [mountaineers of Dusheti Rayon], who are "the sole remaining Georgian [subgroup] to remain intact," will undergo further erosion. They state in an aside that, in any case, "demography" is a poorly understood concept that has become loaded, much like "nationalism," which has become "a dirty word." They quote from statements at a 19 June 1987 meeting of the Georgian Department of the Soviet Sociological Association to the effect that the project will result in "chaotic migration" and bring "dissonance into local demographic and ethnic ways." As for the economic, social, and cultural benefits which proponents predict for the inhabitants of Dusheti Rayon: Why should they have to undergo all this disruption to be given these benefits? All they really need is better roads and services, which could be provided now.

In rebuttal to the above, the editors cite the authority of Kavtonnelstroy Administration Chief Avtandil Chaladze, who has stated that today the project employs 2,100, a figure which includes 1,200 workers from Dusheti Rayon and 220 from Mtskheta and Kazbegi

rayons, the remainder coming from elsewhere in Georgia. Of the total, 1,850 are of Georgian nationality. Moreover, many Pshavs and Khevsurs have moved back from elsewhere in Georgia, and it is hoped that many who moved to North Ossetia for a better life will also return. As for the warnings about ethnic disruption, the editors dismiss the "conclusions" of the sociological meeting by stating that they do not represent a consensus of opinion. The postscript ends with a final note that the editors welcome further input from the public.

### Dam Project 'Will Destroy Georgian Monuments, Ethnic Stability'

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKART-VELO in Georgian No 37, 11 September 1987 carries on page 11 under the title "Always Look Before You Leap" Teimuraz Chikovani's 700-word article in response to a 12 August article in KOMUNISTI concerning the benefits of a future hydrocomplex on the Kura River at Minadze. Acknowledging the good intentions and, indeed, the potential benefits of the project, the author nevertheless is concerned about the overriding ecological, economic, cultural, and social consequences that may ensue.

By way of analogy, he directs readers to a piece in NEDELYA No 29 about a proposed hydroproject at the head of the Volga to provide water for Moscow and other benefits. That project was the object of vehement opposition not only from the many villagers who would be displaced but also by the public at large, on economic and ecological grounds. The Kura, a far smaller river than the Volga, would suffer proportionally greater damage.

The author claims that the Minadze Reservoir, 25 kilometers long and 3 kilometers wide, would stretch all the way upstream to Aspindza and inundate many archeological monuments as well as fertile farmlands and vineyards, thus destroying "the soil that has provided Georgian ethnic stability there" and threatening to halve the population. These consequences would run counter to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's efforts "to revive the Meskhetian district."

Project planners claim that the reservoir will have an insignificant effect on the local climate and thus pose no danger to nearby monuments. But the same thing was promised by those who designed the Shaori Hydrocomplex [in Ambrolauri Rayon on the Rioni], yet even that relatively small body of water boosted humidity levels to the point where they have damaged the magnificent stone carvings of the Nikortsminda Cathedral. Clearly, the same threat hangs over the Sapari Monastery complex in the vicinity of Minadze.

### Tbilisi Plant Workers Threaten Strike; Demands Quickly Met

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 18 September 1987 carries on page 2 under the rubric "The Labor Collective" and the title "Under New Conditions, A New Way" N. Lursmanashvili's 1,100-word

article about numerous changes for the better, now and projected for the near future, in Tbilisi's Stalin Electric Rail Car Repair Plant. The article leads off with a brief account of a threatened strike (though that word is not used) that prompted quick amelioration of working conditions in one shop.

In particular, on 3 August the plant's director received a collective letter signed by 19 workers in Shop No 7 (electrical), which reads as follows:

This is to inform you that our production section is located on the third floor. Our working conditions are very difficult. The ventilation system doesn't work, we are stifling and we have no water. If you do not pay attention to our request and take steps within a week's time, we will be obliged not to come to work. This is not the first time we've made this request.

By 7 August the ventilation system was working again and the windows could be opened to let in fresh air. After remodeling is completed next year, conditions will be even better.

The author of the article chatted with the brigade leader of the shop, who stated that his workers had appealed more than once to the trade union committee and the management but got no action. But "things are different now; they won't dare ignore us any more... Perestroyka, glasnost, and democratization are on the march, slowly to be sure, but see how quickly this situation was corrected... It won't be so hard to breathe anymore," either literally or figuratively.

### Georgian 'Poison Melons' Issue Examined, Monitoring Sketched

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 19 September 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "Are Melons Poison?" a 700-word follow-up on earlier articles examining Georgians' fears about high nitrate levels in melon crops. This article is signed by Deputy Health Minister Irakli Pagava, who is the republic's chief sanitation physician. He begins by assuring citizens that melons are not subject to "fast spoilage" and hence cannot cause food poisoning, provided they are grown in compliance with strict agrotechnical regulations governing the proper time, amounts, methods, and concentrations of fertilizer and pesticide application. Otherwise, dangerous concentrations of such substances may accumulate in the produce.

The bulk of the article gives detailed specifications spelled out in recent (1985 and 1987) all-union rulings on such matters. The author describes the procedures of laboratory monitoring and analysis of the produce at the various levels, precise jurisdictions assigned to particular bodies—in part depending on the source of the produce (for example, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, or private plot), the marketing agency, and so on. In all cases, produce is not to be sold to the public unless it has been properly

certified. In many districts, rayon-level laboratories have not yet been set up, so that the job falls to a number of regional "centralized" laboratories.

06854/7310

### Kazakh Authorities Ignore Ekibastuz Environmental Threat

18320405a [Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 11 September 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word article by KazTAG reporter S. Qrymova entitled "Can We Save Ourselves From the Thick Black Smoke?" The article castigates authorities for an Ekibastuz environmental problem which has been allowed to grow worse and worse, and for failure by planning and other responsible authorities to learn anything from the pollution problems of Ekibastuz State Rayon Electrical Station No 1 in building Plant No 2.

The problem, Qrymova makes clear, is above all due to use of coal of too low quality (too high an ash content) and poor plant construction, creating major inefficiencies which compound problems with the coal. Also, gas and dust filters fail to function at all or operate improperly most of the time. As a result thick black smoke continues to pour from thousand-foot Ekibastuz stacks and spreads far into the Altay, polluting vast territories with ash and other pollutants and posing a serious hazard to health. Moreover, Qrymova shows, there is also evidence that the Ekibastuz plant has upset the oxygen balance locally, a problem of great potential importance for the future.

Although most of these problems are well known to authorities, appropriate changes have not been made in plans for Plant No 2, now under construction.

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### KaSSR: Ural Forests Seriously Neglected

18320405b [Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADE-BIYETI in Kazakh on 18 September 1987 carries on pages 6-7 a 3,100-word article by writer Kenges Yusupov, published under the rubric "Mother Earth," entitled "Green Forests Along the Ural River." The article castigates regional forestry and other officials for the serious deterioration that they have allowed to take place in the Ural watershed. The importance of this watershed, and its forests, for a major, greater region, including parts of the Caspian Basin, is stressed. Greater research, protection and reforestation efforts on a more meaningful scale are demanded.

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### Growing Environmental Problems For Kazakh Fishermen

18320405c [Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 11 September 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word article by T. Alimqulov, chairman of the KaSSR Committee for Fisheries Enterprise Workers, published under the rubric "Man and Nature," entitled "Big Pike Grow From Little Pike." The article looks at republic fisheries under changing ecological conditions.

According to Alimqulov, there has been increasing attention to environmental concerns recently, to the conservation of bodies of water in particular. Moreover, he goes on, the interconnection of economics and the environment has been stressed, something particularly relevant for republic fisheries which are now experiencing difficulty in many areas due to falling water levels and decreasing fish stocks, and to a growing pollution problem.

Alimqulov calls upon republic fishermen to reorganize to respond to new conditions. In this regard he suggests that much can still be achieved in spite of difficulties being encountered and new environmental conditions.

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